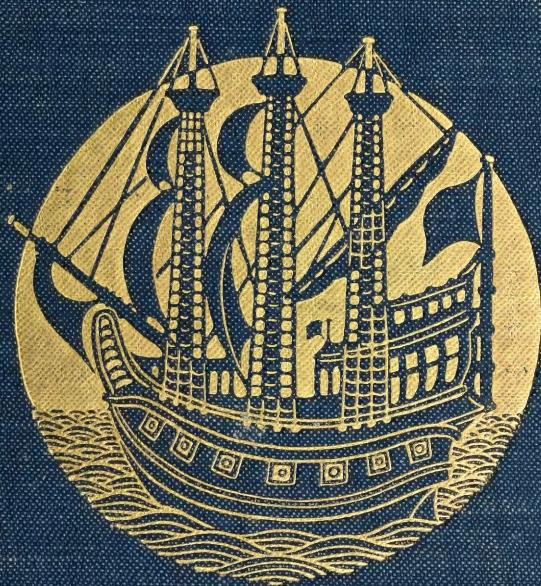


The Cape of Adventure



Ian D. Colvin

THE CAPE OF ADVENTURE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

In the 'Romance of Empire' Series

SOUTH AFRICA

BY IAN D. COLVIN

Illustrated in Colour by G. S. SMITHARD
and J. R. SKELTON

'Full and overflowing with the wine of romance.'—*Daily Chronicle.*

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67 LONG ACRE, W.C., AND EDINBURGH

THE CAPE OF ADVENTURE
BEING STRANGE AND NOTABLE DIS-
COVERIES, PERILS, SHIPWRECKS, BATTLES
UPON SEA AND LAND, WITH PLEASANT
AND INTERESTING OBSERVATIONS UPON
THE COUNTRY AND THE NATIVES OF THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

EXTRACTED FROM THE
WRITINGS OF THE EARLY
. . . TRAVELLERS BY . . .
IAN D. COLVIN
WITH NUMEROUS
ILLUSTRATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

WELL I remember, in the savagery and joy of Cape politics before the Union, I sometimes grew tired of those barren debates in which Merriman and Sauer, Smartt and Crewe, Fremantle and Molteno, and all my other dear friends and dearer enemies, scratched and bit and fought together, and I went downstairs to the dim quiet cellars of Parliament House. There, altogether forgetting, and altogether forgotten by the noisy world above, like the old spinning woman in the fairy tale, lived Leibbrandt, the archivist. He sat in his little cell, hunchbacked with much study, a black velvet skull-cap over his white hair, and a long black-green clerical surtout round his heavy figure, a ponderous and venerable man, surrounded by his faded yellow archives. He would tell me of the Cape of seventy years ago, before parliaments came to vex its slumbrous quiet, and of the old Cape families to which he belonged, of the tall East Indiamen that beat into the Bay, and of boyish excursions to the famous vineyards of Constantia and Stellenbosch. Then he would tell me of his college life in Holland, and dwell with pride upon his high attainments in Latin and theology. He would tell me stories of his primitive parishioners in the desolate back veld of Victoria West,

and of the controversy with certain zealots of the Stellenbosch seminary, which led to the resignation of his charge. He had an honest detestation of those Zeal o' the Land Busies who had helped to wreck the peace of his country, and it was his chief glory to recount how he had worsted them in theological debate, although indeed they were more than his match in underground intrigue. But we always fell back at last upon his beloved archives, and the old Travels, which, next to his archives, he loved best. In those regions he was supreme : he did not take any broad views in history ; but had the crabbed learning of a meticulous archivist. He knew every turn and twist in the history of the Cape, could tell offhand the latitude and longitude of a seventeenth-century shipwreck, or the number of powder-kegs supplied to the burghers of Graaff Reinet for an eighteenth-century native war. Once he supplied me from memory with all the references in the archives to the pirates of Madagascar, and there was no old document in all his rich collection which he had not deciphered. He valued the truth and the truth only, and had infinite scorn for those who subordinated history to politics. He would talk with a twinkle in his eye of the offence he had given by translating and publishing the Slachter's Nek papers, which had mysteriously disappeared, but of which he had found a neglected copy in the Public Works Office. Truth, he would say, is always at the bottom of a well ; but here they would like to cut the draw-rope.

He was formidable in controversy, as all who have

read his letters on the Van der Stel case will admit. But he never wrote much, possibly because he was too busy at his proper work, possibly because he knew that he could not write the truth and remain in his office, probably because he had little taste for writing, and unless he was moved to it by such a white heat of anger as burned in him at the base attacks on his beloved Van der Stels, was too much interested in detail ever to get beyond investigation. His only book, the *Rambles through the Archives*, is a queer, delightful jumble of obscure learning. His *Precis of the Archives* is his monument, a memorial so meanly printed and bound that it is a disgrace to the governments which successively starved his work.

The dear old man is dead, and I am sure it was the chief regret of his death-bed that his work—especially the index upon which he had been engaged—was left incomplete and partly unpublished. His modesty would prevent him from thinking of the ingratitude of his country ; and after all it is the common lot of scholarship to remain unrecognised in its own generation. I have already ventured to suggest that, as a memorial, a Leibbrandt Society might be formed with the object of publishing the archives of the Cape of Good Hope in a worthy form, as well as reprinting such of the old travellers as are deemed worthy of the honour. I do not suppose that anything will come of the suggestion, and in the meantime I hasten to bring this little wreath of withered leaves to his grave.

My book—if I can call it my book, when it is all

composed by hands long dead—is the result of a desultory reading, chiefly in those old volumes to which Leibbrandt so lovingly introduced me. I might call it a *hortus siccus*, by no means scientific or complete, a collection of specimens culled almost at haphazard from the neglected classics of the Cape of Good Hope. I know that the few who are familiar with these books will complain of many omissions; but my answer is, first, that I could not give everything, even if there were a dozen volumes to fill; and second, that my design was merely to offer the reader a few samples, not long nor even representative of all the old writers, but showing the quality of the best, so as to tempt him perhaps into reading them for himself. A rough chronological order is preserved, but not rigidly; and in choosing my specimens I have not tested them by their historical importance, but rather by their interest to the general reader.

I owe a debt of gratitude besides to that admirable collector and bibliographer, Mr. Sidney Mendelssohn. When I had the privilege of writing the Introduction to his great work, I made free use of his library for about a year, and explored it with his learned assistance. Since then he has placed it freely at my disposal, and many of the extracts here gathered are taken from books on his shelves. The present book, indeed, might be called an appendix to my Introduction to the *Mendelssohn Bibliography*. I have also to thank Mr. P. E. Lewin, the librarian of the Royal Colonial Institute, for his learned assistance.

I begin with the Portuguese, and here the work of

the Hakluyt Society, and the fascinating *Records of South-Eastern Africa* (edited by Dr. Theal, and translated by some excellent anonymous writer for the Cape Government) are invaluable. I have not drawn much on the classic historians of Portugal. Their vivid and stately narratives tell the story of the rise of their country, the deeds of its heroes, and the beginning of its decline, with a lofty conception of the philosophy and the moral lessons of history which shows that they sat at the feet of Livy and Plutarch. But like Livy they had unhistorical ends in view : they desired to set before the youth of a Portugal already past its first glory, an exhortation drawn from their country's prime, and to this end they elevated men to the style of heroes and adorned their narrative with lofty sentiments and shining examples. Thus Gaspar Correa's story of the prolonged storm through which Vasco Da Gama fought his way round the Cape, and the mutiny he quelled with so much courage and resolution, is not supported by such authentic records as we have of the voyage. Correa altered the season of the year, and prolonged the voyage so that he might paint his hero in more heroic colours ; and he may have invented the mutiny story, or drawn it from some other voyage and applied it to this for the same purpose. The original authority upon which all the historians built was probably the *Roteiro* or *Journal of the First Voyage*, reprinted by the Hakluyt Society. Upon this sober basis the historians erected their stately and imposing structures.

I have drawn more from the humbler writers who

kept the popular press of Lisbon busy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with their accounts of shipwrecks on the terrible south-east coast of Africa, just as Taylor, the Water Poet, served our Elizabethan London with news of some recent sea-fight, or as Defoe hawked about his hair-raising but more or less apochryphal narratives, or as Thomas Tegg filled his broadsheets with the latest shipwreck story for the regalement of our citizens a hundred years ago. It was thus no doubt that the *Historia Tragico Maritima* of Bernardo Gomes de Brito was compiled. It is a collection of tracts, written by different hands and at different times, and bound together anyhow. Thus although the collected edition was printed in Lisbon as late as 1735, the quaint little woodcuts which adorn the divisions of the volume (and of which one is reproduced in this book) are plainly of a much earlier date, and no doubt belonged to the original title-pages. The tracts were in fact published hot upon the return of the shipwrecked sailors by whom they were written or dictated. In general their simple style and the detailed accounts of savage life and country with which they abound, stamp them as authentic, and they are among the earliest and most valuable material of South African history. But they find a place in this book not so much for their historical value as for their entralling interest. They are the most wonderful shipwreck stories I have ever read : they make the most daring flights of our romancers seem tame by comparison. In their day to day records of peril and suffering, of hunger and thirst, of murder by savages,

and death by wild beast, they touch us deeper than a work of fiction, however eloquent. For in these stories the finger of actuality seems to touch our eyes and our ears. We see the desperate work at the pumps, the balers choked by the fumes of pepper in the hold, the timbers opening and ‘bent like a shepherd’s crook’ ; the pintles of the rudder torn from their gudgeons ; the ship wallowing helpless ; the masts gone by the board ; the rocks and the dark shore ; the perils of landing ; the panic selfishness of the sailors ; the officers with their drawn swords guarding the boats ; then the camp on the beach ; the anxious consultations ; the forming of the caravan, with the women and sick in litters, with a ‘religious’ in the van bearing aloft a crucifix or a banner of the virgin ; the decline of discipline under the tortures of hunger and thirst ; the women and the sick left to die ; the attacks of savages ; the strongest stumbling on blindly in their desperate struggle for life ; their fights for mere garbage picked up on the way ; the ‘tiger’s head, very rotten, covered with vermin, and of an evil smell,’ over which a great nobleman of Portugal stands guard with his gun ; the mariner’s chart, ‘which killed all those who ate it because of the mercury in the colours’ ; more horrible, ‘the quantities of meat which had an excellent smell like pork,’ that Francisco Vaz d’Almada refused to eat because he knew it to be human flesh ; the decline of civilised men into mere wild beasts without scruple or pity in their fight for life ; and then at last, after months of this nightmare journey, the joy of the few pitiful survivors at the sight of a Portuguese ship or

a Portuguese trader from Mozambique—such stories as these enthrall us not only as historical but as human documents.

One of these stories has indeed been immortalised in poetry. The famous wreck of the galleon *Saint John* took place in 1552, and a few years afterwards Camoens turned the central incident of the disaster into what is the most beautiful passage of the *Lusiad*. In its place I give that part of the narrative which tells how the ‘yoake of lovers,’ Manuel de Sousa and his wife Dona Leonor, died on the oozy banks of the Lourenço Marques, and the extract will show that the unvarnished tale, in its simple prose, pierces the heart more sharply than the aureate verse of the Renaissance master. Equally strange and terrible is the story of the wreck of the two ships, *Our Lady of Atalaya* and *Sacramento*, somewhere near Algoa Bay in the year 1647. I avow that the fate of that fat nobleman, that first of the Nabobs, Dom Sebastian Lobo da Silveira, is to my thinking one of the finest episodes in the whole of my book. The death of Falstaff, as told by Mistress Quickly, is hardly better. He was ‘very much burdened with flesh, and had never been accustomed to walk,’ so he bribed the ship’s boys to carry him in a hammock. We see them, stumbling and grunting and sweating in their labour, and at last laying their burden down in flat mutiny. They are sent back for him and carry him one last stage, and then the Dom, although ‘fat and in good health,’ resigns himself to die, because it is beneath his dignity to walk. He is left in that howling desert ‘under a little cloth tent,’ ‘displaying

in this extremity so much patience and good courage that if he persevered therein his salvation may be piously held as certain.'

In my *Romance of South Africa* I told the story of South Africa's first Christian martyr, the now canonised Jesuit, Father Dom Gonçala da Silveira, who was murdered by the Monomotapa in 1561. A sweet sequel to this story is given among my extracts, the narrative of the seventeenth-century missionary, Father Alphonsus Leo de Barbudas. His account of the miraculous grave of the saint, guarded by its beasts and birds, is another of the 'captain jewels' in my carcanet.

The English and Dutch navigators, who followed upon the heels of the Portuguese, bring us to the beginning of the seventeenth century, and make us familiarly acquainted with a spot which was afterwards to become the historical centre of South Africa, and the site of its greatest and most beautiful city. Many of these early sailors kept journals or wrote letters to their employers in Europe, and they all tell, with an iteration that becomes wearisome, of the sweetness of the water and the excellence of the air of Table Valley, as well as the 'beastlinesse' of the 'salvage Hottentoo's' who lived there. The garbage which they ate; the entrails with which they adorned themselves; the clicking of their speech—'like a turkey-cock,' as one of our mariners describes it; their primitive notions on the subjects of exchange; such characteristics became so familiar in Europe that the Hottentot grew to be proverbial as the lowest of

humanity ; and Swift, who knew his Herbert, borrowed some of their ‘ local colour ’ for the painting of his Yahoos.

It would be instructive to collate European views on the native question from the long list of our travellers. To the early voyagers the African natives were either pagans to be converted to the Christian faith or mere beasts, outside the law and hardly fit to be serfs to the white man. In either view the obvious truth that they were inferior in all respects to the Christian European was kept well in sight. But in the eighteenth century the philosopher was busy in Europe. Rousseau, working unconsciously on a basis of Christian transcendentalism, but rejecting all that was practical in Christian morals, and in his ignorance of humanity going far further than the missionaries had ever gone, argued not merely that all men were equal, but that civilisation was a corruption of nature ; and that in its savage state mankind was innocent and free. The Book of Genesis and the Acts of the Apostles had prepared the way for Rousseauism, which was in fact Christianity with all its cautions and safeguards left out. It was ignorant of the lessons of science ; it rejected the lessons of experience. A philosophy which taught that civilisation was a corruption of the savage state was naturally unacceptable in a country where civilisation was still engaged in a desperate battle with savagery. Le Vaillant, the most popular traveller of eighteenth-century Europe, was disliked and despised in the eighteenth-century Cape of Good Hope. This is natural, since he was more deeply imbued with

Rousseauism even than Chateaubriand, and saw in the Hottentots the state of primal innocence where natural law and promiscuous concubinage secured the happiness of all. The Gallic enthusiast flung himself with transports of joy into the arms of Narina and all her relations ; took up their quarrels with the whole ardour of his nature, and looked upon the settlers as tyrants, despots, enslavers, men hopelessly corrupted by the superstitions of civilisation. His champion-
ship of the native and his abuse of the settler were widely echoed in Europe, as well as by later travellers, and had its part in leading to a world of trouble for South Africa. The settler knew the savage for what he was, treacherous and cruel ; he knew that the analogy between savagery and innocence, comfortably accepted by the philosophers of Europe, did not in reality exist ; and he knew too, if he thought on the matter, that he represented not a corruption of savagery, but a higher type of life.

On the other hand, the settler could not be altogether easy in his conscience. He had often fallen far below even the practical morals of Christianity. He had successfully intrigued against the Van der Stels, who stood for a native policy of justice and fairness as well as firmness ; he had too often followed a policy of robbery and extermination ; he had not only pro-
tested against the visits of travellers like Le Vaillant, but he had chased from the country the Moravian mis-
sionaries who had endeavoured to raise the Hottentot by the civilising process of labour. Thus with faults and extravagances on both sides began the long vexed

native controversy which forms so great and so barren a part of the literature of South Africa.

Into this field of Aceldama I do not propose to lead the reader of the present book. I leave controversy alone and look for romance, for the entertaining and the picturesque in travel. And our travellers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were certainly a picturesque and entertaining company. Herbert, of the aureate style and the wondrous Latinity. Terry, that Church of England clergyman on the warpath. Terry may be forgiven much for his description of the sea-fight with the Portuguese. Kolbe has been much abused: no doubt he is a liar and a charlatan, but at least he is amusing. Sparrman, how admirable in his observation, how pleasant in his humour! Thunberg, that exact and painstaking naturalist. Le Vaillant, who put Kolbe's nose out of joint, how shall we praise him! He is the Tartarin of real life: the sportsman of Tarascon is indeed pale and tame beside him. His picture of himself in the famous leopard hunt, intrepid among a band of shivering South Africans, with the young Boer, John Slaber, standing close to him because 'he had need of some resolute person to revive his drooping spirits,' becomes more delightful when we learn from Barrow that the leopard was really shot by a trap-gun, and that it was expiring under a bush 'when the valiant Frenchman discharged the contents of his musquet into the tyger.' And Le Vaillant is as great in love as in the field. His account of the fair Narina once enchanted the sentimentalists of Europe, although it will now, I fear,

excite more to mirth than admiration. Certainly there is nothing in Tartarin better than the picture of the roguish Le Vaillant, sitting upon the Hottentots' aprons—those figleaves of a savage innocence so charming to a Frenchman who is also a follower of Rousseau! After Le Vaillant the sentimentalism of Bernardin de St. Pierre (who has given us a short account of the Cape) seems to us only prosaic. Yet his account of the ‘Knickerbocker’ Cape Town of 1771, with its streets watered by canals and planted with trees—‘The fronts of the houses were shaded with their foliage, and at the two sides of the doors were seats of brick or turf, on many of which sat ladies with clear and ruddy complexions’—deserves mention as a charming first sketch for the full-length portrait afterwards executed with no less charm by Lady Anne Barnard.

Sir John Barrow and Captain Percival have often been abused, I think with some injustice. They were John Bulls, no doubt, and as they were in a hostile country and identified with an alien and unpopular government, it was natural if they exhibited some animus. Any one who has any acquaintance of French military memoirs of the Peninsula, or British military memoirs of the Low Countries, will understand the subtle influences which aroused and perhaps excuse the feeling of hostility. But apart from this, both writers are in their own spheres shrewd and generally accurate observers.

But since literary interest and charm is our object, they are of less importance than two of their contemporaries, Heinrich Lichtenstein and William Burchell.

Both belong to the great company of naturalists, to whom the debt of South Africa can hardly be exaggerated. They were admirable observers, and both had a fine genius for description. Lichtenstein is the more light and graceful in his style, and his humour reminds us of the earlier Sparrman; but Burchell's was the weightier genius. Indeed I do not know anything to surpass Burchell in the quality of his observation and in the accuracy, at once broad and exquisite, with which he sets down what he sees. Take, for example, a phrase from his description of the feathers of the wild paauw: 'The irides were of a beautiful, pellucid, changeable, silvery, ferruginous colour.' For accuracy and beauty combined, I know few things more satisfying than the passage (quoted elsewhere) in which Burchell describes a landscape on the Reed River.

Of the missionary travellers, and especially of the later missionaries, I have given little. The most excellent of all, David Livingstone, is so well known, that quotations from his works seem out of place in this volume. I confess to a partiality for that shrewd yet simple-minded old Scot, John Campbell. The scene in which the pawky old fellow takes snuff with the wives of the King of Lattakoo, is in its way inimitable. The Moravian Latrobe has the same sweet piety and simplicity of spirit joined with something of the same quiet shrewdness. The talks which these two dear old gentlemen have with savages on the state of their souls, their prayers and aspirations, their piety and bravery, remind us irresistibly of the Christian fathers. I am less in love with that gaunt zealot Van

der Kemp, although I do not deny that he is equally picturesque. As for the story of Bethelsdorp, and of John Read's marriage experiment with the Hottentot, it would need the ironic pen of an Anatole France to do justice to its mingled comedy and tragedy.

But I cannot even name all of my authors here : I must leave my selections to speak for them. And again let me emphasise that I do not mean any disrespect to the many authors I have left out. They are a brave band, our South African classics, sailors, soldiers, missionaries, explorers, naturalists, sportsmen, prospectors. South Africans ought to value them more, and to read oftener the entrancing stories of their past. The common conception of their history as a plodding and dry-as-dust record of events has a disastrously firm hold on the popular mind. Readers should cheerfully sweep all this aside and go to the authorities themselves. They will be abundantly rewarded by a story full of incident and colour, heroism and romance, tears and suffering, joy and achievement. They will find that their ancestors were men of like passions with themselves, who grappled with like problems. It was in the hope that I might lead not only South Africans, but all who love the romance of adventure and the heroic story of our empire, into exploring these sources for themselves, that I compiled this little anthology.

JOHN DE BARROS (1496-1570)

[Barros has been called the Livy of Portugal, and with justice, for his style is noble and clear, and is inspired by a lofty patriotism. Like Clarendon, Barros had a first-hand knowledge of what he wrote, for although he was only a child when the sea routes to India and Brazil were being explored, his life was spent in the king's service in developing the empire and trade of the East and of Brazil. After being captain of the fortress of St. George of Elmina, on the West African coast, he was made Treasurer of the India House by King John III., and served his king well and honestly in this and other important posts. The following extract from his great *History of the Portuguese Conquest of Asia* is well known ; but is of such interest to us that I do not care to leave it out.]

I

BARTHOLOMEW DIAS AND JOHN INFANTE DISCOVER THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

AMONG many things which the king Dom John heard from the ambassadors of the King of Benin, and also from John Afonso d'Aveiro, of what was related to him by the inhabitants of those parts, was that about twenty moons' journey to the east of the kingdom of Benin, which, according to their method of calculation and the short stages they make, would be about two hundred and fifty of our leagues, there was a king, the most powerful of those parts, whom they call

A

Ogané, whom the heathen princes of the districts of Benin hold in the same veneration as we hold the supreme pontiffs.

It is a very ancient custom for the kings of Benin, on succeeding to the throne, to send their ambassadors to him with rich presents, informing him that, by the death of so and so, they have succeeded to the kingdom of Benin, and asking him to confirm their succession. As a mark of this confirmation, the Prince Ogané sends them a staff and a head-piece after the fashion of a Spanish helmet, all of shining brass, instead of a sceptre and crown, and a cross of the same material to wear round their necks, as something holy and religious, after the fashion of those worn by the commanders of the order of St. John; and without these things the people do not consider that they can justly reign or be held as true kings. All the time this ambassador was at the court of Ogané he remained invisible, as an object of veneration, and he only saw the silken curtains which concealed him. When the ambassador was being dismissed, a foot was shown to him from within the curtains, as a sign that Ogané was behind them, and had granted the presents he was to take with him, and they showed reverence to this foot as if it had been a holy thing. As a reward for his labour in journeying so far, the ambassador was given a small cross similar to that which he was to take to the king, which was hung round his neck, by which he was made free and exempt from all service, and privileged in the land of which he was a native, as are the commanders of St. John among us.

Knowing this, in order to describe it more correctly—King John having carefully inquired into it in his time—in the year 1540, when certain ambassadors from the King of Benin came to this country, seeing one of them, a man of about seventy years of age, wearing one of these crosses, I questioned him concerning it, and he answered in conformity with what is written above.

And as in the time of King John, whenever there was a discussion upon India, mention was always made of a powerful king called Prester John of the Indies, who was said to be a Christian, it seemed to the king that through him he might gain entrance into that country. As from the Abyssinian religious who came to these parts of Spain, and also from certain friars who went to Jerusalem, whom he had charged to seek information concerning this prince, he had learned that his kingdom was the land lying above Egypt, and extending to the southern sea, the king, with the cosmographers of this kingdom, taking the general plan of Ptolemy, describing the whole of Africa, the landmarks of the coast set up by the explorers, and the distance of two hundred and fifty leagues to the east, where those from Benin said the kingdom of Prince Ogané lay, they concluded that he must be Prester John, as both were always concealed by silk curtains, and held the sign of the cross in great veneration.

Thus it seemed to him that his ships, by following the coast they were exploring, could not fail to reach the promontory Praso at the end of that land. Considering all these things, which increased his desire for the discovery of India, he resolved to send in the

year 1486 ships by sea and men by land to see the end of this matter which gave him so much hope.

Two ships were equipped of about fifty tons burden each, and a small ship to carry surplus provisions, the lack of which had often caused vessels engaged in this discovery to return to the kingdom ; and they sailed at the end of August of the said year. The king gave the command of this expedition to Bartholomew Dias, a gentleman of his household, who was one of the discoverers of this coast, and he went in a ship of which Pedro d'Alanquer was pilot and Leitão master. John Infante, another gentleman, was captain of the second ship, the pilot of which was Alvaro Martins and the master John Grego. Pedro Dias, a brother of Bartholomew Dias, was captain of the provision ship, of which John de Santiago was pilot and John Alves master, all of whom were very skilful in their offices.

Though Diogo Cam had in two voyages explored the coast for three hundred and seventy-five leagues, from Cape Catherine to Cape Padrão, having passed the river Congo, Bartholomew Dias began to explore the coast till he reached the place now called Angra do Salto, because of two negroes whom Diogo Cam surprised there. The king ordered these men, who had been taught by Bartholomew Dias what they were to do, to be restored to those parts, and they also took four negresses of a different part of the coast of Guinea. The first of these they left in Angra dos Ilheos, where they raised the first landmark, the second they left in Angra das Voltas, the third died, and the fourth remained in the bay of the islets of Santa Cruz, with

two others whom they found there collecting shell-fish, and they would not carry them away, because the king commanded them not to offer violence or give cause of offence to the inhabitants of the lands they should discover.

The king's motive in commanding that these people should be landed along that shore, clothed and well treated and with samples of silver, gold, and spices, was that they might go to the populated parts, and the report might be spread from one to another of the grandeur of his kingdom, and the many things to be found there, and that his ships were sailing along that coast to discover India, and especially a king who was called Prester John, and be the means of his sending from the interior where he dwelt to the sea coast. The negroes had been instructed to this end, and especially the negresses, for as they were not natives of that land they had the hope that they would return to the ships and be brought back to this kingdom. And in the meantime, they might enter the interior and report these matters to the inhabitants, and learn all they could upon the points recommended to them, which they could do in safety, being women, against whom the men never make war, and therefore they would receive no harm.

Besides placing the landmarks which they had with them at such distances along the shore as they judged proper, they were set up in notable positions, such as the first landmark called Santiago, in a place which they named Serra Parda, which is in latitude 24° , a hundred and twenty leagues beyond the last set up

by Diogo Cam. They also named the capes, bays, and other features of the land which they had discovered, either according to the day on which they reached them or for some other cause, as the bay now called das Voltas, because of the many tacks they made in it, which caused them to give it this name, Bartholomew Dias being detained there five days by weather which did not allow him to pursue his course, which bay is in south latitude 29° .

Having set out from this bay, steering seaward, the same weather drove them for thirteen days with their sails at half mast, and as the ships were small and the seas colder and no longer like those of the land of Guinea, although those of Spain are very dangerous in stormy weather, they expected those to prove fatal ; but the weather which caused this furious sea ceasing, they made for land, steering to the east, thinking the coast still ran from north to south as they had found it so far. But after sailing some days without reaching it, they steered to the north, and thus reached a bay which they called dos Vaqueiros, because of the many cows which they saw upon the land guarded by their herds. As they had no interpreter who could understand the natives they could not converse with them, but on the contrary, as if terrified at such a novelty, they drove their cattle inland, so that our people could learn nothing of them but that they saw them to be negroes with woolly hair like those of Guinea.

Going farther along the coast, now in a new direction, at which the captains were greatly pleased, they came to an island in $33\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ south latitude, where they

set up the landmark called da Cruz, that gave its name to the islet, which is little more than half a league from the mainland ; and because there were two fountains there, many called it the Penedo das Fontes. Here, as the men were weary and feared the heavy seas they had encountered, all began to complain and to demand with one voice that they should go no farther, saying that the provisions were being consumed and they should return to the storeship they had left behind, which was now so distant that if they went farther they would all die of hunger ; that they had explored a sufficient length of coast for one voyage, and had now discovered the greatest novelty of the whole exploration, which was that the coast ran generally towards the east, whence it would appear that they had passed some great cape which it would be better to turn back and discover.

Bartholomew Dias, to satisfy all complaints, landed with the captains, officers, and some of the principal sailors, and having administered an oath to them, he ordered them to give their true opinion upon what ought to be done for the service of the king. All decided that they ought to return to the kingdom, for the reasons above mentioned and others equally urgent, and he ordered a document containing this opinion to be drawn up, which they all signed. But as his own wish was to go farther, and he only did this in order to fulfil the obligation of his office and the order of the king commanding him to consult the principal persons of his company in matters of importance, he asked them all, when it came to signing the

resolution they had taken, to agree to go forward along the coast for two or three days more, and if they found nothing to oblige them to continue their course, they could then return ; and this was granted to him.

But at the end of the days he had asked for, they had found nothing but a river which is twenty-five leagues beyond the islet of the Cross, in latitude $32\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$. And as John Infante, captain of the ship *S. Pantaleão*, was the first to land, the river was called the Infante, which name it now bears. There they turned back, because the men recommenced their complaints. On reaching the island of the Cross, when Bartholomew Dias left behind him the landmark he had placed there, he did so with as much grief and sorrow as if he was leaving a son in exile for ever, remembering with what peril to himself and all his company he had journeyed so far, solely to this end, since God had not granted him success in his principal design.

Setting out thence, they came in sight of that great and famous cape concealed for so many centuries, which when it was seen made known not only itself but also another new world of countries. Bartholomew Dias and those of his company, because of the perils and storms they had endured in doubling it, called it the Stormy Cape, but on their return to the kingdom, the king, Dom John, gave it another more illustrious name, calling it the Cape of Good Hope, because it gave promise of the discovery of India, so long desired and sought for so many years. And this name bestowed upon it by a king, and one in whom Portugal glories, shall endure to the praise of him who ordered this discovery, as long as our history shall last. Its descrip-

tion and appearance will be found in our geography more fittingly than it could be given here.

Bartholomew Dias, after he had noted what was necessary for navigation, and had set up a landmark called San Filipe, as time would not allow him to go into the land, continued to follow the coast in quest of the provision ship, which they rejoined after having been separated from it just nine months. Of nine men who had remained in her only three were alive, one of whom, named Fernão Colaça, a native of Lumiar, a territory of Lisbon, who was the secretary, was so overcome with joy at the sight of his comrades that he died on the spot being very weak from illness. The reason they gave for the death of the others was that they trusted the negroes of the country with whom they held communication, who killed them, being covetous of certain things with which they traded.

Having taken in a good stock of provisions which they found, and set fire to the little ship, which was much damaged by barnacles, there being no one to navigate it, they went to Prince's Island, where they found Duarte Pacheco, a gentleman of the king's household, very ill, who not being in a condition to explore the rivers of the coast, for which purpose the king had commissioned him, sent his ship to trade, and she was lost, part of the crew being saved, who returned with him in the ships of Bartholomew Dias.

As at that time a river was known called the river do Resgate, from the trade with the negroes carried on there, in order not to return empty-handed they passed that way, and also by the fort of San George da Mina, of which John Fogaça was captain, who

delivered to them the gold he had obtained in trade, with which they set out for the kingdom, reaching it in December of the year 1487, having been absent sixteen months and seventeen days from the time they set out from it. Bartholomew Dias explored in this voyage three hundred and fifty leagues of coast, which is as much as Diogo Cam explored in two voyages.

In this space of seven hundred and fifty leagues, which these two chief captains explored, there are six landmarks : the first called S. George, at the river Zaire, which is in the kingdom of Congo ; the second, called San Agostinho, is at a cape bearing the same name ; the third, which is the last set up by Diogo Cam at the Manga das Areas ; the fourth in order and first set up by Bartholomew Dias, is at the Serra Parda ; the fifth, San Filipe, on the great and famous Cape of Good Hope ; the sixth, Santa Cruz, on the islet of that name, which is the last of the landmarks set up by Bartholomew Dias, and the end of the last discovery made in the time of the king Dom John.

II

PEDRO D'ANHAYA BUILDS A FORTRESS AT SOFALA

[When the Portuguese discovered South Africa, Sofala was a port at which the Arabs, or Moors as the Portuguese called them, traded for gold which was brought from the interior by natives. The disastrous story of Pedro d'Anhaya and his fortress in this fever-stricken swamp is simply yet grandly told by de Barros.]

PEDRO D'ANHAYA . . . cast anchor . . . below the Moorish settlement, as he could go no farther, because the river was narrow and overgrown with trees.

Here the chief men of the country came to visit him and to learn, on behalf of the king, the purpose of his coming to that port, though he knew it already from the shipwrecked sailors in his power, whose arrival he concealed. As Pedro d'Anhaya insisted strongly on seeing the sheik, whom his subjects called the king, they endeavoured to avoid it, saying that the king was a man of more than eighty years of age, blind, and having lost the use of his limbs, so that he could not come to him, and still less could the captain go to the king, for from that village to the place where he was the distance was great, and up the river the channel was obstructed by many trees, which would prevent the passage of the ships, nevertheless they consented at last to the demand of Pedro d'Anhaya.

The captain having dismissed the Moors with the message that he was coming, took with him all the boats, and with pomp and armed entered the village of the king, which was at a distance of half a league, and had more than a thousand inhabitants. The houses were all of wood and lath plastered with clay, according to their usual custom, and thatched with palm leaves. The king's palace alone showed that it belonged to the principal person in the land, with its courtyards and large rooms, the largest of which was built as we build the body of our churches, without cross aisles, but with a chapel at the inner end.

In this chapel the king lay upon a couch, and the place was so small that the couch and its hangings filled it, almost as if it had been a platform from which he might give audience to those in the outer room. It

was hung with silken cloth matching that of his bed, of the kind which comes from India. On entering the large apartment, Pedro d'Anhaya was led by the principal Moors, who were assembled for this audience, to the place where the king was lying. He was a handsome man, of darkish colour, and though age and blindness confined him to his couch, he showed by his prudence and the adornments of his person, that he was lord of all the others.

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Pedro d'Anhaya finally induced the king to give permission to build the fortress he spoke of. . . . If the king had consulted the will of his son-in-law, named Mengo Musaf, he would not so easily have given leave for the building of the fortress, for he and others of his party would have defended themselves by force of arms rather than allow our people to take possession of a span of land; and if they had consented to the trade at all, it would have been that it should be carried on by ships, as was done by the admiral Dom Vasco when he went there.

But as the king was a man who, though he had lost his sight, had more prudence and could manage things more astutely than his son-in-law and his party, he opposed their first impulse, saying that they should wait till the climate of the country had affected our men, as he was certain that many more would die of fever than by the sword if they attacked them then, for they were very warlike men, but when the fever had sapped their strength they might easily be taken in their house, without bloodshed; and that it was

better now to receive us with a joyful countenance and grant whatever we desired, that no suspicion might be felt against him, until matters happened as he anticipated.

* * * * *

Pedro d'Anhaya, . . . having chosen a site for the fortress, went in search of stone, but as that place is marshy ground there was none to be found, and therefore he ordered that it should be built of wood in the meantime, and afterwards, when they became acquainted with the country, it might be built according to the instructions of the king Dom Manuel. As the chief wood obtainable for the purpose was mangrove, which grows along those swamps, a very strong and heavy wood, which it is very laborious to remove from the place where it is cut down, in order to spare his men, that they might not fall sick in this labour, for he required them to be in proper condition to bear arms in case of necessity, he hired natives for this service, paying them their wages with merchandise he had taken from this kingdom.

The Moors, especially the king's son-in-law, to whom this work was not at all agreeable, seeing that the Kaffirs, covetous of the reward, worked with zeal at what was required for the building, by artifices and dealings which he had with them, induced them all to absent themselves from the work. Thereupon Pedro d'Anhaya, learning the notorious cause thereof, in order to remedy it, entered two boats with some armed men, and sought the village of the king, who, though he was afraid when he heard that the captain was seeking him

in this way with armed men, did not move from his house, but waited as one who is perfectly secure. Hearing that the cause of his coming was the ill will which he found in the natives of the country, he ordered this to be diligently provided for by men above suspicion, and Pedro d'Anhaya was enabled to build the fortress of wood, as strong as it was possible for it to be.

Around it was a trench, and with the earth which they dug out of it they filled up the space between the stakes of wood, after the fashion of a mud-wall, of sufficient height to defend those within, and upon it there were defences like sentry-boxes very well finished, and sufficiently strong to protect them against a more industrious people than the Kaffirs of that country, whom our people feared more than the Moors, on account of their numbers. . . .

Upon the arrival of the merchandise brought by Gonçalo Vaz de Goes, which the viceroy Dom Francis d'Almeida ordered to be sent from the spoils taken in the cities of Kilwa and Mombasa—as we have related—these being of a description which the Kaffirs liked, they began to come in great numbers with gold, because they received greater profit from the fortress than from the Moors, as well as good treatment of themselves. This caused the Moors to reveal their hatred, which they had concealed until they saw the trade in this state, which they hoped to put an end to.

This was felt not only by the principal men who held this trade in their hands before our arrival, but also by the king's son-in-law, who was the greatest enemy we had there, and he complained bitterly to

the king that he had given occasion for things to come to this pass. . . .

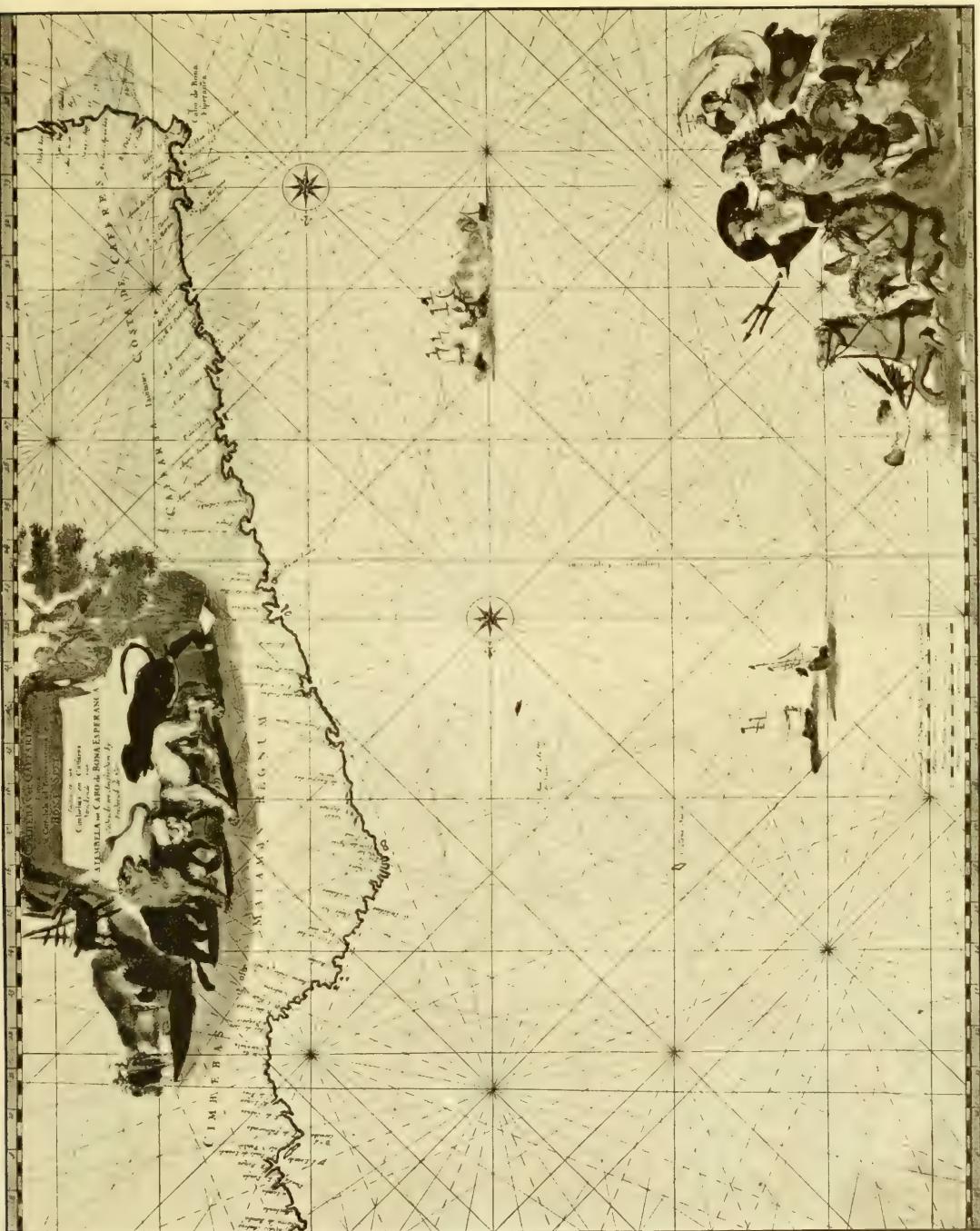
In the interior was a Kaffir prince named Moconde, a very powerful man, who ruled a district of that land of Sofala, under Monomotapa. The King of Sofala sent word to this Moconde that certain strange men had come there, of evil disposition and life, who went about the sea robbing all and sparing none, and as the result of their thefts had there a large treasure of many cloths of silk and gold and other merchandise of India, which more properly belonged to Monomotapa, as the lord of the land, than to them. And he had reduced them to great straits for want of provisions, with which he had refused to provide them, by which they suffered such hunger that between it and fever they had no strength left to defend themselves, and in order to take them he had but to come, and their lives and property would be in his hands without delay ; and this he did not do himself, because he wished first to know whether Moconde would not be of the party, that he might fix a day to attack them in his company.

Moconde, when he heard this proposal, being a barbarian, covetous, and without any caution whatever, crossed the river, but with the intention that if he should not meet with good fortune in the matter for which he was invited, to attack the Moorish settlement, from which he might carry off some prize, that his venture should not be in vain. This plan—although it was put into execution—was feared by some of the Moors who knew the nature of the Kaffirs, for it seemed to them that Moconde would do the king some evil,

or at least that the plan would not be carried out, for the Kaffirs have so little reticence that for a piece of cloth they would reveal all to certain wandering Moors, who, being omezaides, to secure their own interests, would warn Pedro d'Anhaya, as did indeed occur. . . .

Upon the day when the arrival of the Kaffirs was expected, they made their appearance elated with the prospect of the theft they intended to commit. Without fear, or any sort of order, five or six thousand of them surrounded the fortress which our people had built, and upon this first approach they did nothing but what they were told to do by the Moors who had brought them, which was to fill the trench with bushes, which they did in a short time as they were very numerous. As soon as it was full, they advanced to the posts of the wall, some trying to pull them up, some to climb over them, and now and then they discharged a cloud of arrows which cast a shadow on the ground, and struck several of our people, especially the Moors who had taken refuge with them, who being unarmed, suffered most.

But this daring did not last long, for when they felt the effect of our artillery, which strewed the earth with their bodies, without their perceiving by what means they were overthrown, they began to flee, one tumbling over the other like frightened cattle. But this was not so easily accomplished by our people that it did not cause them great trouble, for there were only thirty-five men in the fortress who could bear arms, and the others were in such a state that it took five or six of them to draw a cross-bow, and the best men-at-



**EARLY DUTCH MAP OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
Engraved by Wm. Tolson, Worcester (1675)**

arms that Pedro d'Anhaya had in the fortress at that time, and that guarded it both night and day, were two large greyhounds, which the Kaffirs feared more than the fury of the lances and swords of our men, for though they struck with a good will, they had no strength in their arms to hurt them. It would seem that through these two animals God wished to show a part of the favour which He granted us against these barbarians, for the dogs had a great hatred of those without, but towards the Moors whom Pedro d'Anhaya had admitted within the fortress they were as tame as towards any of the Portuguese.

Pedro d'Anhaya, finding himself upon this first attack of the Kaffirs with nothing to do which became him as the captain and gallant gentleman that he was, with about twenty Moors of the company of Yacote and fifteen of the healthiest Portuguese, sallied out against the Kaffirs, and God showed him such favour that he overthrew at the point of the lance many of those who were climbing the palisades, and at last drove them back, and they all withdrew to a palm grove which was opposite the fortress. And during the three days they were there, in the attacks which they sometimes made so many of them were killed that they thought the Moors had planned this to compass their death, since they had brought them there to fight against God, as they said, for He killed them there with the bark of the trees under which they were, because of the evil they had done in attacking His white men. They said this because the balls from the artillery sometimes struck the trunks of the trees under which they

were encamped, and many were killed and wounded by the bark and splinters, so that they did not know where their lives were safe.

As men indignant at the deceit practised upon them by the Moors in bringing them to a place where they had suffered such harm, they abandoned our fortress and plundered the Moorish settlement on their way, and the king would have received some hurt if he had not provided his palace with men to defend it.

Pedro d'Anhaya, when he found them gone, that the king might not contrive some other wickedness, knowing through spies whom he sent out for that purpose that the king's palace was not strictly guarded, and that little was feared from the fortress, where the men were all sick, with some whom he found fit for the purpose, entered the brigantine at night, and sending out spies before him, attacked the king's palace. The king, hearing what was taking place, stood behind the door, and as Pedro d'Anhaya went in with a torch before him, which was put out as he entered the house, feeling some one close to him, he gave a blow with a short broadsword and struck Pedro d'Anhaya in the neck, who, if he had not swerved a little, more from caution than to escape the blow, as they were in darkness and the blow was given by the hand of a blind man, would have been almost beheaded. But it pleased God that the wound should be slight, and when the torch was relit the king received a greater, and ended his miserable days, and became blind in soul as well as in body. . . .



Cyde Barbudo . . . and Pedro Quaresma . . . proceeded to Sofala, where they learned that Pedro d'Anhaya was dead, and also a great number of his men, and the remainder were so enfeebled by sickness that the fortress was at the mercy of the Moors, although Manuel Fernandes, who was then serving as captain, was doing his utmost to guard it.

III

HOW THE VICEROY . . . BY A SAD OCCURRENCE MET
HIS DEATH, WITH THE FLOWER OF HIS MEN, AT
THE AGUADA DE SALDANHA

[The viceroy, Dom Francisco d'Almeida, was one of the first and one of the greatest of the Portuguese empire-makers. The story of his wars in North Africa and India, of his work as viceroy, of his quarrel with his great successor Affonso d'Albuquerque, and of his return home in disgrace, cannot be told here; but the incident of his death on the shores of Table Bay must be given, both as a South African event and as one of the noblest passages in the decades of De Barros.]

As they had need of water, and close to the Cape there was a watering-place called the Aghada de Saldanha, of which we have already written, he commanded the pilots to take him to it, where, to give the men recreation from the monotony of the sea, he allowed some of them, when they took the casks on shore for water, to trade with the negroes who came to the beach as soon as the ships had anchored. With this permission, as the negroes became very familiar with our men, and bartered cattle for pieces of iron and cloth, which were greatly prized by them, some of the men took further

leave to go with them to their villages nearly a league's distance from that place, and in this expedition some of them lost their daggers, as the negroes took them, and also other things that pleased them. To revenge himself for this act of violence, one of the men named Conçalo, a servant of the viceroy, brought two of them back with him under pretext of their carrying certain things that he had bought, and as the negroes came unwillingly, suspecting him of malicious intentions, he used force to compel them to come, whereupon they left what they were carrying, and ill-treated him in such a way that he presented himself before the viceroy with his face covered with blood, and some of his teeth broken.

With the viceroy at the time were several persons whose servants had received the same treatment from the negroes, especially one named Fernão Carrasco, a servant of Jorge de Mello, and they were so indignant with the negroes that they induced the viceroy to go to the village to chastise them, who went more to please these noblemen than prompted by personal indignation, although some of them were opposed to this attack, as were Dom Lourenço de Brito, Jorge de Mello, and Martim Coelho.

As the villages were a little farther up than the place where the ships were anchored, the next day, with about one hundred and fifty men, the flower of all the people, the boats proceeded along the shore until they came close to the villages, to shorten the journey on foot. On landing here, he commanded Diogo d'Unhos, the master of his ship, to remain in the boats and not

move from that spot, and it would seem that his spirit foretold him what dire necessity they would have for them, and that the gloom he felt in setting out upon this expedition was a prognostication of his last hour, as after consenting to it, at the request of the noblemen who induced him to adopt this course, he always spoke and acted as one who foretells his death. Among other things, on leaving the ship and entering the boat, as one who wished it to be known that he was going against his will, he said : ‘ Where are you taking sixty years ? ’

Afterwards, when they were going along the shore, he said that there was some sand in his shoes, and asked John Gonçalves, who acted as his valet, to take them off ; and when John Gonçalves was beating them one against the other to free them of the sand, he said : ‘ When Dom John de Menezes was alive, if he had been here and heard you beating those shoes together, he would not go one step farther, although it were to fight a battle greatly to his honour ; but as I believe in God more than in such illusions, I shall not discontinue my journey.’ In this allusion of the viceroy to Dom John de Menezes, he referred to a fact well known in the kingdom, that he put faith in two ill-omens, one being the beating of shoes together, and the other that Tuesday was an unlucky day. The reason of this was that he was chief guard of the prince, Dom Affonso, at the time when he fell from his horse at Santarem, and died from the effects, and they were riding side by side along the banks of the Tagus, at Alfange, when a youth who had been swimming in the Tagus began

to beat his shoes together to get the sand out of them, that he found when putting them on, and at this instant the prince fell from his horse, the day being Tuesday. Whereupon Dom John, on account of this catastrophe, always put faith in these two ill-omens, which were so notorious in the kingdom that when he was captain in Arzilla, and afterwards in Azamor, the residents always felt certain that he would never do anything on a Tuesday, or on a day when he had heard the sound of two shoes being beaten together.

They felt so certain of this that when Dom John was in Arzilla, and wished to make an attack upon some villages, which was one of the gallant deeds that he accomplished, as may be seen in our book on Africa, as it was winter and raining heavily, the governors of the frontier posts and the residents were accompanying him much against their will, whereupon three or four of them planned to send a boy to beat shoes together at the gate of the town, while Dom John was passing through to prevent him from going. But as Dom John saw through the stratagem, and knew that the youth belonged to a man who in times of defeat made good use of his legs, he said : ‘ Tell your master that as to the punishment he deserves for what you are doing, I shall not inflict upon him a greater than his coming upon this expedition, in which I know he will get more advantage from his legs than from those shoes of yours.’ With these words, he urged his horse forward in good spirits, accepting the trick as a prognostication of the victory that he gained.

The viceroy, on the contrary, did not jest at this

beating of shoes which he chanced to hear, and continued his journey sadly and unwillingly, but Dom John laughed at the trick, and for this reason pursued his course joyfully and with hope of victory, which God granted to him. And by the sadness or joy which men feel in undertaking certain things, some say that man's soul is a prophet, foretelling what is to befall him, and in this case, before half an hour had passed, the viceroy was justified by what took place.

In the first moment of entering the negro village, Fernão Pereira, son of Reimão Pereira, was killed, some say by accident, as he was inside one of the thatched houses, when one of our men on the outside, hearing some one moving and believing it to be a negro, thrust in his lance and pierced him through. Information of this being conveyed to the viceroy, he said : ‘ Since my trial begins with Fernão Pereira, it must finish with more,’ and he commanded the men to be speedily recalled.

Having gone through a large part of the village, the body of the men were bringing with them some cows and children whom they had found in the houses, when about eighty of the negroes came down from the place where they had taken refuge in the first moment of terror, as men ready to face death to save their children. Lourenço de Brito, seeing with what violence they were coming, and understanding the reason, said to those who were carrying off the children : ‘ Leave those calves there, as the cows are coming after them, not lowing but bellowing.’ But although some of our men began to let the children go, and to drop some

miserable booty that they were carrying off from the village, the negroes were already so incensed that passing over all obstacles they attacked the body of our people.

Having called their cattle, which are accustomed to this kind of warfare, they began to whistle to them, and make signs by which they guide them, so that forming into a squadron, and sheltered by the cattle, they attacked our men with wooden darts hardened by fire. Some fell wounded and were trodden down by the cattle, and as most of them were without shields, their only weapons being lances and swords, in this kind of warfare they could not do much damage to the negroes, who from among the cattle hurled their weapons against our men, which had immediate effect. Fighting in this way, our men came wearied to draw breath at the place where the viceroy had commanded Diogo d'Unhos to wait with the boats, but they were not there, as owing to a storm that had come on there was a heavy sea running, which had compelled him to take the boats back close to the ships, so that where our men expected to find shelter they found death.

They sank in the sand of the shore, and were entirely powerless and unable to move, and the negroes came down upon them so light-footed and nimble that they appeared to be birds, or rather the devil's executioners. They fell upon the nobles, who for love of the viceroy offered some resistance, as the common men with the first booty that they gained had run off in front. The most pitiful occurrence was that some of the wounded men, who were unable to take a step on the shore



A BOSHESMAN

From "A Collection of Portraits of the Savage Tribes taken from the life in 1812, by an Officer
of the 21st Light Dragoons" (London, 1822)

because of the loose sand, went into the water to find more solid ground, and stained it with their blood.

In this moment of difficulty, in which each one looked to himself, Jorge de Mello came up to the viceroy, and saw that he was more or less abandoned by the men, as each one had enough to do in looking after himself. As Jorge de Mello was somewhat discontented with him, owing to affairs between Affonso d'Alboquerque and the viceroy, he said to him : ‘ My lord, I should like to see following you some of those upon whom you have bestowed honour, as this is the time to repay benefits.’ To which the viceroy replied : ‘ Senhor Jorge de Mello, those who owe me any favour are already left behind me ; this is not a time for these remembrances, but rather should you remember your nobility, and I beg you as a favour to accompany and save the banner of our lord the king, which is being ill used, as with my years and sins I can end my life here, since it is our Lord’s will.’

In the meantime among the fallen were Pedro Barreto de Magalhães, Lourenço de Brito, Manuel Telles, Martim Coelho, Antonio do Campo, Francisco Coutinho, Pedro Teixeira, Gaspar d’Almeida, and others. As long as he was able, Jorge de Mello stood by the flag, and by the viceroy until his death. He was pierced through the throat by a dart that was hurled at him after he had received wounds from stones and sticks. Diogo Pires, Dom Lourenço’s tutor, hearing that the viceroy had fallen, retraced his steps, saying : ‘ God grant that I may not remain alive and leave here the son and the father.’ Whereupon he returned to

the place where the viceroy lay, and there he also remained for ever.

Finally, this was the most disastrous event that took place in this kingdom, as the negroes numbered one hundred and seventy, and our men one hundred and fifty, the noblest people of the fleet. Of these more than fifty, among whom were twelve captains, ended their days on this shore, killed by sticks and stones, hurled not by giants or armed men, but by bestial negroes, the most brutal of all that coast, and to these dead and wounded the grandeur of their courage and their prudent industry, exercised so often in the illustrious deeds accomplished by them in India and many other places, combating for their God and their king, availed them nothing. Only a short road and a little sand disabled them, so that we may in truth say that these two things were the principal cause of their death, as many of the men were so powerless that they fell to the ground and offered no resistance to the negroes, who crushed their heads with large stones taken from the shore.

Undoubtedly he who meditates upon the deeds of the viceroy, and the captains and noblemen who perished with him, and sees where, how, and for what cause they met with their end at that place, although he may not understand God's judgments, he will understand that everything is done as an example to us, and that no one during his life can be called fortunate, but only when the vicissitudes of fortune have no power over him, and that is after death.

THE ROTEIRO:

A JOURNAL OF THE FIRST VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA IN 1497-99

[The first voyage of Vasco da Gama has so great an interest for South Africans that I make no apology for giving this extract from the only authentic account of it. It is no more than a sailor's log, a Roteiro, or journal of the voyage, but it is for that reason the more valuable, as the author's only business is to be accurate. This is more than can be said for some of the Portuguese historians. Thus, for example, Gaspar Correa in his account of Da Gama's first voyage alters the dates so as to make it more arduous, and introduces a story of a conspiracy heroically frustrated by Vasco da Gama, which is as dramatic as the execution of Doughty by Drake, but is unsupported by evidence. Those who wish to read the Roteiro further will find it among the publications of the Hakluyt Society : translated and edited by Mr. E. G. Ravenstein.]

IN the name of God. Amen!

In the year 1497 King Dom Manuel, the first of that name in Portugal, despatched four vessels to make discoveries and go in search of spices. Vasco da Gama was the captain-major of these vessels ; Paulo da Gama, his brother, commanded one of them, and Nicolau Coelho another.

Lisbon to the Cape Verde Islands

We left Restello on Saturday, 8th July 1497. May God our Lord permit us to accomplish this voyage in His service. Amen !

On the following Saturday, 15th July, we sighted the Canaries, and in the night passed to the lee of Lancarote. During the following night, at break of day, 16th July, we made the Terra Alta, where we fished for a couple of hours, and in the evening at dusk we were off the Rio do Ouro.

The fog during the night grew so dense that Paulo da Gama lost sight of the captain-major, and when day broke, 17th July, we saw neither him nor the other vessels. We therefore made sail for the Cape Verde islands, as we had been instructed to do in case of becoming separated.

On the following Saturday, 22nd July, at break of day, we sighted the Ilha do Sal, and an hour afterwards discovered three vessels, which turned out to be the store-ship, and the vessels commanded by Nicolau Coelho and Bartholomew Diz (Dias), the last of whom sailed in our company as far as the Mine. They too had lost sight of the captain-major. Having joined company we pursued our route, but the wind fell, and we were becalmed until Wednesday, 26th July. At ten o'clock on that day we sighted the captain-major, about five leagues ahead of us, and having got speech with him in the evening, we gave expression to our joy by many times firing off our bombards and sounding the trumpets.

The day after this, a Thursday, 27th July, we arrived at the island of Samtiago (San Thiago), and joyfully anchored in the bay of Santa Maria, where we took on board meat, water, and wood, and did the much-needed repairs to our yards.

Across the Southern Atlantic

On Thursday, 3rd August, we left in an easterly direction. On 18th August, when about two hundred leagues from Samtiaguо, going south, the captain-major's mainyard broke, and we lay to under foresail and lower mainsail for two days and a night. On the 22nd of the same month, when going S. by W., we saw many birds resembling herons. On the approach of night they flew vigorously to the SSE., as if making for the land. On the same day, being then quite eight hundred leagues out at sea, *i.e.* reckoning from S. Thiago, we saw a whale.

On Friday, 27th October, the eve of St. Simon and Jude, we saw many whales, as also quoquas and seals.

On Wednesday, 1st November, the day of All Saints, we perceived many indications of the neighbourhood of land, including gulf-weed, which grows along the coast.

On Saturday, the 4th of the same month, a couple of hours before break of day, we had soundings in 110 fathoms, and at nine o'clock we sighted the land. We then drew near to each other, and having put on our gala clothes, we saluted the captain-major by firing our bombards, and dressed the ships with flags and standards. In the course of the day we tacked so as to come close to the land, but as we failed to identify it, we again stood out to sea.

The Bay of St. Helena

On Tuesday, 7th November, we returned to the land, which we found to be low, with a broad bay open-

ing into it. The captain-major sent Pedro d'Alenquer in a boat to take soundings, and to search for good anchoring ground. The bay was found to be very clean, and to afford shelter against all winds except those from the NW. It extended east and west, and we named it Santa Helena.

On Wednesday, 8th November, we cast anchor in this bay, and we remained there eight days, cleaning the ships, mending the sails, and taking in wood.

The river Samtiagua (S. Thiago) enters the bay four leagues to the SE. of the anchorage. It comes from the interior (*serao*), is about a stone's-throw across at the mouth, and from two to three fathoms in depth at all states of the tide.

The inhabitants of this country are tawny-coloured. Their food is confined to the flesh of seals, whales, and gazelles, and the roots of herbs. They are dressed in skins, and wear sheaths over their virile members. They are armed with poles of olive wood, to which a horn browned in the fire is attached. Their numerous dogs resemble those of Portugal, and bark like them. The birds of the country, likewise, are the same as in Portugal, and include cormorants, gulls, turtle-doves, crested larks, and many others. The climate is healthy and temperate, and produces good herbage.

On the day after we had cast anchor, that is to say on Thursday, 9th November, we landed with the captain-major, and made captive one of the natives, who was small of stature like Sancho Mexia. This man had been gathering honey in the sandy waste, for in this country the bees deposit their honey at the foot

of the mounds around the bushes. He was taken on board the captain-major's ship, and being placed at table he ate of all we ate. On the following day the captain-major had him well dressed and sent ashore.

On the following day, 10th November, fourteen or fifteen natives came to where our ships lay. The captain-major landed, and showed them a variety of merchandise with the view of finding out whether such things were to be found in their country. This merchandise included cinnamon, cloves, seed-pearls, gold, and many other things, but it was evident that they had no knowledge whatever of such articles, and they were consequently given round bells and tin rings. This happened on Friday, and the like took place on Saturday.

On Sunday, 12th November, about forty or fifty natives made their appearance, and having dined, we landed, and in exchange for the ceitils with which we came provided, we obtained shells, which they wore as ornaments in their ears, and which looked as if they had been plated, and fox-tails attached to a handle, with which they fanned their faces. I also acquired for one ceitil one of the sheaths which they wore over their members, and this seemed to show that they valued copper very highly ; indeed, they wore small beads of that metal in their ears.

On that day Fernão Velloso, who was with the captain-major, expressed a great desire to be permitted to accompany the natives to their houses, so that he might find out how they lived and what they ate. The captain-major yielded to his importunities, and allowed him to accompany them, and when we returned to the

captain-major's vessel to sup, he went away with the negroes. Soon after they had left us they caught a seal, and when they came to the foot of a hill in a barren place they roasted it, and gave some of it to Fernão Velloso, as also some of the roots which they eat. After this meal they expressed a desire that he should accompany them no further, but return to the vessels. When Fernão Velloso came abreast of the vessels he began to shout, the negroes keeping in the bush.

We were still at supper ; but when his shouts were heard the captain-major rose at once, and so did we others, and we entered a sailing boat. The negroes then began running along the beach, and they came as quickly up with Fernão Velloso as we did, and when we endeavoured to get him into the boat they threw their assegais, and wounded the captain-major and three or four others. All this happened because we looked upon these people as men of little spirit, quite incapable of violence, and had therefore landed without first arming ourselves. We then returned to the ships.

Rounding the Cape

At daybreak of Thursday, the 16th of November, having careened our ships and taken in wood, we set sail. At that time we did not know how far we might be abaft the Cape of Good Hope. Pedro d'Alenquer thought the distance about thirty leagues, but he was not certain, for on his return voyage, when with B. Dias, he had left the Cape in the morning, and had gone past this bay with the wind astern, whilst on the outward voyage he had kept at sea, and was therefore unable



THE DUTCH AT TABLE BAY

Frontispiece to Kolla's "Caput Bona Spei Hodiernum" (Nuremberg, 1719)

to identify the locality where we now were. We therefore stood out towards the SSW., and late on Saturday, 18th November, we beheld the Cape. On that same day we again stood out to sea, returning to the land in the course of the night. On Sunday morning, 19th November, we once more made for the Cape, but were again unable to round it, for the wind blew from the SSW., whilst the Cape juts out towards the SW. We then again stood out to sea, returning to the land on Monday night. At last, on Wednesday, 22nd November, at noon, having the wind astern, we succeeded in doubling the Cape, and then ran along the coast.

To the south of this Cape of Good Hope, and close to it, a vast bay, six leagues broad at its mouth, enters about six leagues into the land.

The Bay of São Braz

Late on Saturday, 25th November, the day of St. Catherine's, we entered the bay (*angra*) of Sam Bras, where we remained for thirteen days, for there we broke up our store-ship and transferred her contents to the other vessels.

On Friday, 1st December, whilst still in the bay of Sam Bras, about ninety men, resembling those we had met at St. Helena Bay, made their appearance. Some of them walked along the beach whilst others remained upon the hills. All, or most of us, were at the time in the captain-major's vessel. As soon as we saw them we launched and armed the boats, and started for the land. When close to the shore, the captain-

major threw them little round bells, which they picked up. They even ventured to approach us, and took some of these bells from the captain-major's hand. This surprised us greatly, for when Bartholomew Dias was here, the natives fled without taking any of the objects which he offered them. Nay, on one occasion, when Dias was taking in water, close to the beach, they sought to prevent him, and when they pelted him with stones, from a hill, he killed one of them with the arrow of a cross-bow. It appeared to us that they did not fly on this occasion, because they had heard from the people at the bay of St. Helena (only sixty leagues distant by sea), that there was no harm in us, and that we even gave away things which were ours.

The captain-major did not land at this spot, because there was much bush, but proceeded to an open part of the beach, when he made signs to the negroes to approach. This they did. The captain-major and the other captains then landed, being attended by armed men, some of whom carried cross-bows. He then made the negroes understand, by signs, that they were to disperse, and to approach him only singly or in couples. To those who approached he gave small bells and red caps, in return for which they presented him with ivory bracelets, such as they wore on their arms, for it appears that elephants are plentiful in this country. We actually found some of their droppings near the watering-place where they had gone to drink.

On Saturday, 2nd December, about two hundred negroes came, both young and old. They brought

with them about a dozen oxen and cows, and four or five sheep. As soon as we saw them we went ashore. They forthwith began to play on four or five flutes, some producing high notes and others low ones, thus making a pretty harmony for negroes who are not expected to be musicians; and they danced in the style of negroes. The captain-major then ordered the trumpets to be sounded, and we, in the boats, danced, and the captain-major did so likewise when he rejoined us. This festivity ended, we landed where we had landed before, and bought a black ox for three bracelets. This ox we dined off on Sunday. We found him very fat, and his meat as toothsome as the beef of Portugal.

On Sunday, 3rd December, many visitors came, and brought with them their women and little boys, the women remaining on the top of a hill near the sea. They had with them many oxen and cows. Having collected in two spots on the beach, they played and danced as they had done on Saturday. It is the custom of this people for the young men to remain in the bush with their weapons. The older men came to converse with us. They carried a short stick in the hand, attached to which was a fox's tail, with which they fan the face. Whilst conversing with them, by signs, we observed the young men crouching in the bush, holding their weapons in their hands. The captain-major then ordered Martin Affonso, who had formerly been in Manicongo (Congo), to advance, and to buy an ox, for which purpose he was supplied with bracelets. The natives having accepted the bracelets, took him by the hand, and, pointing to the watering-

place, asked him why we took away their water, and simultaneously drove their cattle into the bush. When the captain-major observed this he ordered us to gather together, and called upon Martin Affonso to retreat, for he suspected some treachery. Having drawn together, we proceeded in our boats to the place where we had been at first. The negroes followed us. The captain-major then ordered us to land, armed with lances, assegais, and strung cross-bows, and wearing our breast-plates, for he wanted to show that we had the means of doing them an injury, although we had no desire to employ them. When they observed this they ran away. The captain-major, anxious that none should be killed by mischance, ordered the boats to draw together, but to prove that we were able, although unwilling, to hurt them, he ordered two bombards to be fired from the poop of the long boat. They were by that time all seated close to the bush, not far from the beach, but the first discharge caused them to retreat so precipitately that in their flight they dropped the skins with which they were covered and their weapons. When they were in the bush, two of them turned back to pick up the articles which had been dropped. They then continued their flight to the top of a hill, driving their cattle before them.

The oxen of this country are as large as those of Alemtejo, wonderfully fat and very tame. They are geldings, and hornless. Upon the fattest among them the negroes place a packsaddle made of reeds, as is done in Castille, and upon this saddle they place a kind of litter made of sticks, upon which they ride. If

they wish to sell an ox they pass a stick through his nostrils, and thus lead him.

There is an island in this bay, three bowshots from the land, where there are many seals. Some of these are as big as bears, very formidable, with large tusks. These attack man, and no spear, whatever the force with which it is thrown, can wound them. There are others much smaller and others quite small. And whilst the big ones roar like lions, the little ones cry like goats. One day, when we approached this island for our amusement, we counted, among large and small ones, three thousand, and we fired among them with our bombards from the sea. On the same island there are birds as big as ducks, but they cannot fly, because they have no feathers on their wings. These birds, of whom we killed as many as we chose, are called Fotylicayos, and they bray like asses.

Whilst taking in water in this bay of Sam Bras, on a Wednesday, we erected a cross and a pillar. The cross was made out of a mizzen-mast, and very high. On the following Thursday, 7th December, when about to set sail, we saw about ten or twelve negroes, who demolished both the cross and the pillar before we had left.

Sao Brãz to Natal

Having taken on board all we stood in need of, we took our departure, but as the wind failed us we anchored the same day, having proceeded only two leagues.

On Friday morning, the day of the Immaculate Conception, 8th December, we again set sail. On

Tuesday, 12th December, the eve of Santa Lucia, we encountered a great storm, and ran before a stern-wind with the foresail much lowered. On that day we lost sight of Nicolau Coelho, but at sunset we saw him from the top four or five leagues astern, and it seemed as if he saw us too. We exhibited signal lights and lay to. By the end of the first watch he had come up with us, not because he had seen us during the day, but because the wind, being scant, he could not help coming in our waters.

On the morning of Friday, 15th December, we saw the land near the Ilheos Chaos (Flat Islands). These are five leagues beyond the Ilheo da Cruz (Cross Island). From the bay of Sam Bras to Cross Island is a distance of sixty leagues, and as much from the Cape of Good Hope to the Bay of Sam Bras. From the Flat Islands to the last pillar erected by Bartholomew Dias is five leagues, and from this pillar to the Rio do Infante is fifteen leagues.

On Saturday, 16th December, we passed the last pillar, and as we ran along the coast we observed two men running along the beach in a direction contrary to that which we followed. The country about here is very charming and well wooded: we saw much cattle, and the farther we advanced the more did the character of the country improve, and the trees increase in size.

During the following night we lay to. We were then already beyond the last discovery made by Bartholomew Dias. On the next day, 17th December, till vespers, we sailed along the coast before a stern-

wind, when the wind springing round to the east we stood out to sea. And thus we kept making tacks until sunset on Tuesday, 19th December, when the wind again veered to the west. We then lay to during the night in order that we might on the following day examine the coast and find out where we were.

In the morning, 20th December, we made straight for the land, and at ten o'clock found ourselves once more at the Ilheo da Cruz (Cross Island), that is sixty leagues abaft our dead reckoning ! This was due to the currents, which are very strong here.

That very day we again went forward by the route we had already attempted, and being favoured during three or four days by a strong stern-wind, we were able to overcome the currents which we had feared might frustrate our plans. Henceforth it pleased God in His mercy to allow us to make headway ! We were not again driven back. May it please Him that it may be thus alway !

Natal

By Christmas Day, the 25th of December, we had discovered seventy leagues of coast (beyond Dias' farthest). On that day, after dinner, when setting a studding-sail, we discovered that the mast had sprung a couple of yards below the top, and that the crack opened and shut. We patched it up with backstays, hoping to be able to repair it thoroughly as soon as we could reach a sheltered port.

On Thursday, 28th December, we anchored near the coast and took much fish. At sunset we again set

sail and pursued our route. At that place the mooring-rope snapped and we lost an anchor.

We now went so far out to sea, without touching any port, that drinking-water began to fail us, and our food had to be cooked with salt water. Our daily ration of water was reduced to a quartilho. It thus became necessary to seek a port.

Terra da Boa Gente and Rio do Cobre

On Thursday, 11th January, we discovered a small river and anchored near the coast. On the following day we went close in shore in our boats, and saw a crowd of negroes, both men and women. They were tall people, and a chief ('Senhor') was among them. The captain-major ordered Martin Affonso, who had been a long time in Manicongo, and another man, to land. They were received hospitably. The captain-major in consequence sent the chief a jacket, a pair of red pantaloons, a Moorish cap, and a bracelet. The chief said that we were welcome to anything in his country of which we stood in need : at least this is how Martin Affonso understood him. That night Martin Affonso and his companion accompanied the chief to his village, whilst we returned to the ships. On the road the chief donned the garments which had been presented to him, and to those who came forth to meet him he said, with much apparent satisfaction, 'Look, what has been given to me !' The people upon this clapped hands as a sign of courtesy, and this they did three or four times, until he arrived at the village. Having paraded the whole of the place, thus

dressed up, the chief retired to his house, and ordered his two guests to be lodged in a compound, where they were given porridge of millet, which abounds in that country, and a fowl, just like those of Portugal. All the night through, numbers of men and women came to have a look at them. In the morning the chief visited them, and asked them to go back to the ships. He ordered two men to accompany them, and gave them fowls as a present for the captain-major, telling them at the same time that he would show the things that had been given him to a great chief, who appears to be the king of that country. When our men reached the landing-place where our boats awaited them, they were attended by quite two hundred men, who had come to see them.

This country seemed to us to be densely peopled. There are many chiefs, and the number of women seems to be greater than that of the men, for among those who came to see us there were forty women to every twenty men. The houses are built of straw. The arms of the people include long-bows and arrows and spears with iron blades. Copper seems to be plentiful, for the people wore ornaments of it on their legs and arms and in their twisted hair. Tin, likewise, is found in the country, for it is to be seen on the hilts of their daggers, the sheaths of which are made of ivory. Linen cloth is highly prized by the people, who were always willing to give large quantities of copper in exchange for shirts. They have large calabashes in which they carry sea-water inland, where they pour it into pits, to obtain the salt by evaporation.

We stayed five days at this place, taking in water which our visitors conveyed to our boats. Our stay was not, however, sufficiently prolonged to enable us to take in as much water as we really needed, for the wind favoured a prosecution of our voyage.

We were at anchor here, near the coast, exposed to the swell of the sea. We called the country Terra da Boa Gente (land of good people), and the river Rio do Cobre (copper river).

Rio dos Bons Signaes

On Monday, 22nd January, we discovered a low coast thickly wooded with tall trees. Continuing our course we perceived the broad mouth of a river. As it was necessary to find out where we were, we cast anchor. On Thursday, 25th January, at night, we entered. The *Berrio* was already there, having entered the night before—that is eight days before the end of January.

The country is low and marshy, and covered with tall trees, yielding an abundance of various fruits, which the inhabitants eat.

These people are black and well made. They go naked, merely wearing a piece of cotton stuff around their loins, that worn by the women being larger than that worn by the men. The young women are good-looking. Their lips are pierced in three places, and they wear in them bits of twisted tin. These people took much delight in us. They brought us in their almadias what they had, whilst we went into their village to procure water.

When we had been two or three days at this place,

two gentlemen (*senhores*) of the country came to see us. They were very haughty, and valued nothing which we gave them. One of them wore a touca with a fringe embroidered in silk, and the other a cap of green satin. A young man in their company—so we understood from their signs—had come from a distant country, and had already seen big ships like ours. These tokens (*signaes*) gladdened our hearts, for it appeared as if we were really approaching the bourne of our desires. These gentlemen had some huts built on the river bank, close to the ships, in which they stayed seven days, sending daily to the ships, offering to barter cloths which bore a mark of red ochre. And when they were tired of being there, they left in their almadias for the upper river.

As to ourselves, we spent thirty-two days in the river, taking in water, careening the ships, and repairing the mast of the *Raphael*. Many of our men fell ill, their feet and hands swelling, and their gums growing over their teeth, so that they could not eat.

We erected here a pillar which we called the pillar of St. Raphael, because it had been brought in the ship bearing that name. The river we called Rio dos Bons Signaes (river of good signs or tokens).

To Moçambique

On Saturday, 24th February, we left this place and gained the open sea. During the night we stood NE., so as to keep away from the land, which was very pleasing to look upon. On Sunday, 25th February, we still stood NE., and at vesper time discovered

three small islands, out in the open, of which two were covered with tall trees, while the third and smallest was barren. The distance from one island to the other was four leagues.

On the following day we pursued our route, and did so during six days, lying to at night.

On Thursday, the 1st of March, we sighted islands and the mainland, but as it was late we again stood out to sea, and lay to till morning. We then approached the land, of which I shall speak in what follows.

Moçambique

On Friday morning, 2nd March, Nicolau Coelho, when attempting to enter the bay, mistook the channel and came upon a bank. When putting about ship, towards the other ships which followed in his wake, Coelho perceived some sailing boats approaching from a village on this island, in order to welcome the captain-major and his brother. As for ourselves, we continued in the direction of our proposed anchorage, these boats following us all the while, and making signs for us to stop. When we had cast anchor in the roadstead of the island from which these boats had come, there approached seven or eight of them, including almadias, the people in them playing upon anafils. They invited us to proceed further into the bay, offering to take us into port if we desired it. Those among them who boarded our ships ate and drank what we did, and went their way when they were satisfied.

The captain thought that we should enter this bay in order that we might find out what sort of people we

had to deal with ; that Nicolau Coelho should go first in his vessel, to take soundings at the entrance, and that, if found practicable, we should follow him. As Coelho prepared to enter, he struck the point of the island and broke his helm, but he immediately disengaged himself and regained deep water. I was with him at the time. When we were again in deep water we struck our sails and cast anchor at a distance of two bowshots from the village.

The people of this country are of a ruddy complexion and well made. They are Mohammedans, and their language is the same as that of the Moors. Their dresses are of fine linen or cotton stuffs, with variously coloured stripes, and of rich and elaborate workmanship. They all wear toucas with borders of silk embroidered in gold. They are merchants and have transactions with white Moors, four of whose vessels were at the time in port, laden with gold, silver, cloves, pepper, ginger, and silver rings, as also with quantities of pearls, jewels, and rubies, all of which articles are used by the people of this country. We understood them to say that all these things, with the exception of the gold, were brought thither by these Moors ; that further on, where we were going to, they abounded, and that precious stones, pearls, and spices were so plentiful that there was no need to purchase them, as they could be collected in baskets. All this we learned through a sailor the captain-major had with him, and who, having formerly been a prisoner among the Moors, understood their language.

These Moors, moreover, told us that along the

route which we were about to follow, we should meet with numerous shoals ; that there were many cities along the coast, and also an island, one half the population of which consisted of Moors and the other half of Christians, who were at war with each other. This island was said to be very wealthy.

We were told, moreover, that Prester John resided not far from this place ; that he held many cities along the coast, and that the inhabitants of those cities were great merchants and owned big ships. The residence of Prester John was said to be far in the interior and could be reached only on the back of camels. These Moors had also brought hither two Christian captives from India. This information, and many other things which we heard, rendered us so happy that we cried with joy, and prayed God to grant us health, so that we might behold what we so much desired.

In this place and island of Moncobiouy (Moçambique) there resided a chief who had the title of Sultan, and was like a viceroy. He often came aboard our ships attended by some of his people. The captain-major gave him many good things to eat, and made him a present of hats, marlotas, corals, and many other articles. He was, however, so proud that he treated all we gave him with contempt, and asked for scarlet cloth, of which we had none. We gave him, however, of all the things we had.

One day the captain-major invited him to a repast when there was an abundance of figs and comfits, and begged him for two pilots to go with us. He at once granted this request, subject to our coming to terms

with them. The captain-major gave each of them thirty mitkals in gold and two marlotas, on condition that from the day on which they received this payment one of them should always remain on board if the other desired to go on land. With these terms they were well satisfied.

On Saturday, 10th March, we set sail and anchored one league out at sea close to an island, where mass was said on Sunday, when those who wished to do so confessed and joined in the communion.

One of our pilots lived on the island, and when we had anchored we armed two boats to go in search of him. The captain-major went in one boat, and Nicolau Coelho in the other. They were met by five or six boats coming from the island, and crowded with people armed with bows and long arrows and bucklers, who gave them to understand by signs that they were to return to the town. When the captain saw this, he secured the pilot whom he had taken with him and ordered the bombards to fire upon the boats. Paulo de Gama, who had remained with the ships, so as to be prepared to render succour in case of need, no sooner heard the reports of the bombards than he started in the *Berrio*. The Moors who were already flying, fled still faster and gained the land before the *Berrio* was able to come up with them. We then returned to our anchorage.

The vessels of this country are of good size and decked. There are no nails, and the planks are held together by cords, as are also those of their boats. The sails are made of palm-matting. Their mariners have

Genoese needles, by which they steer, quadrants, and navigating charts.

The palms of this country yield a fruit as large as a melon, of which the kernel is eaten. It has a nutty flavour. There also grow in abundance melons and cucumbers, which were brought to us for barter.

On the day in which Nicolau Coelho entered the port, the lord of the place came on board with a numerous suite. He was received well, and Coelho presented him with a red hood, in return for which the lord handed him a black rosary, which he made use of when saying his prayers, to be held as a pledge. He then begged Nicolau Coelho for the use of his boat to take him ashore. This was granted. And after he had landed he invited those who had accompanied him to his house, where he gave them to eat. He then dismissed them, giving them a jar of bruised dates, made into a preserve with cloves and cumin, as a present for Nicolau Coelho. Subsequently he sent many things to the captain-major. All this happened at the time when he took us for Turks or for Moors from some foreign land, for in case we came from Turkey, he begged to be shown the bows of our country, and our books of the Law. But when they learnt that we were Christians, they arranged to seize and kill us by treachery. The pilot, whom we took with us, subsequently revealed to us all they intended to do, if they were able.

False Start and Return to Moçambique

On Sunday, 11th March, we celebrated mass beneath a tall tree on the island. We returned on board and

at once set sail, taking with us many fowls, goats, and pigeons, which had been given us in exchange for small glass beads.

On Tuesday, 13th March, we saw high mountains rising on the other side of a cape. The coast near the cape was sparsely covered with trees resembling elms. We were at that time over twenty leagues from our starting-place, and there we remained becalmed during Tuesday and Wednesday. During the following night we stood off shore with a light easterly wind, and in the morning, 15th March, found ourselves four leagues abaft Moçambique, but we went again forward on that day until the evening, when we anchored once more close to the island on which mass had been celebrated the preceding Sunday, and there we remained eight days waiting for a favourable wind.

During our stay here the King of Moçambique sent word that he wanted to make peace with us and to be our friend. His ambassador was a white Moor and sharif, that is priest, and at the same time a great drunkard.

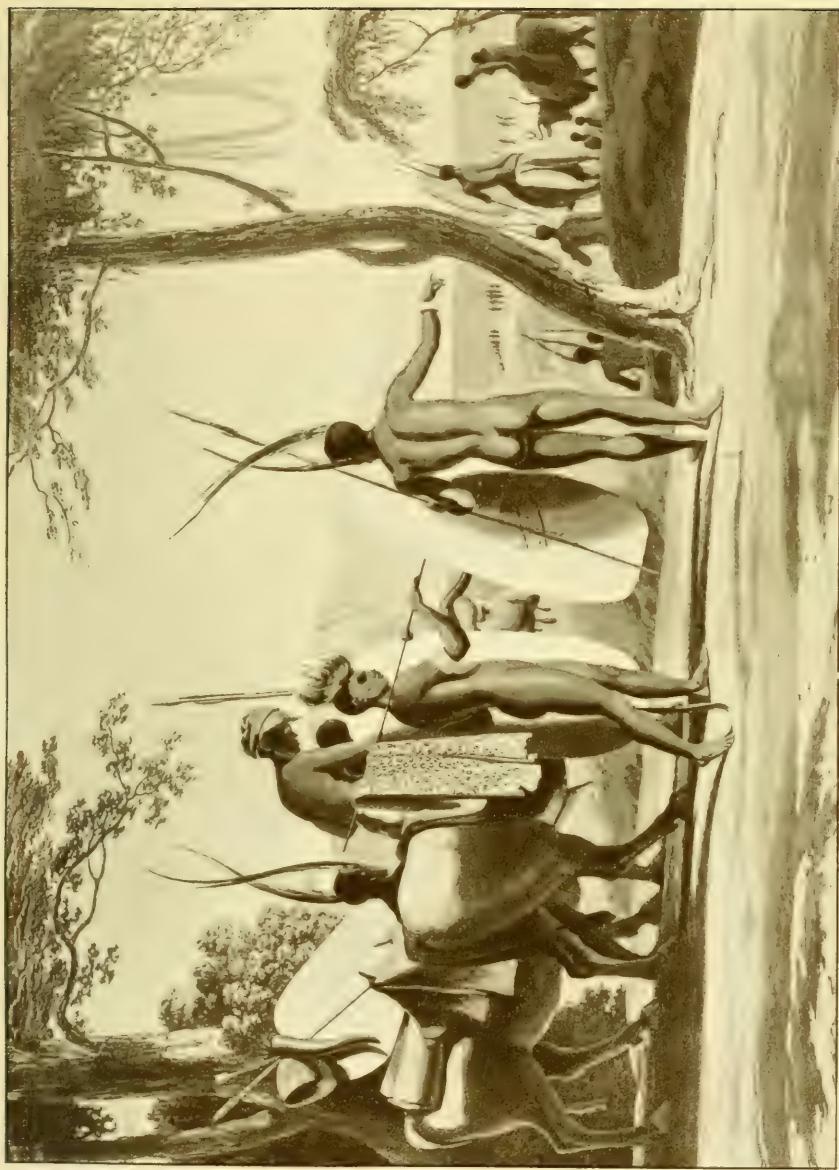
Whilst at this place a Moor with his little son came on board one of our ships, and asked to be allowed to accompany us, as he was from near Mecca, and had come to Moçambique as pilot of a vessel from that country.

As the weather did not favour us, it became necessary once more to enter the port of Moçambique, in order to procure the water of which we stood in need, for the watering-place is on the mainland. This water is drunk by the inhabitants of the island, for all the water they have there is brackish.

On Thursday, 22nd March, we entered the port, and when it grew dark we lowered our boats. At midnight the captain-major and Nicolau Coelho, accompanied by some of us, started in search of water. We took with us the Moorish pilot, whose object appeared to be to make his escape rather than to guide us to a watering-place. As a matter of fact, he either would not or could not find a watering-place, although we continued our search until morning. We then withdrew to our ships.

In the evening, 23rd March, we returned to the mainland, attended by the same pilot. On approaching the watering-place we saw about twenty men on the beach. They were armed with assegais, and forbade our approach. The captain-major upon this ordered three bombards to be fired upon them, so that we might land. Having effected our landing, these men fled into the bush, and we took as much water as we wanted. When the sun was about to set we discovered that a negro belonging to Joao de Coimbra had effected his escape.

On Sunday morning, the 24th of March, being the eve of Lady Day, a Moor came abreast our ships and sneeringly told us that if we wanted water we might go in search of it, giving us to understand that we should meet with something which would make us turn back. The captain-major no sooner heard this threat than he resolved to go, in order to show that we were able to do them harm if we desired it. We forthwith armed our boats, placing bombards in their poops, and started for the village. The Moors had constructed



KAFFIRS ON A MARCH

From Samuel Daniell's "African Scenery," London, 1804 (5)

palisades by lashing planks together, so that those behind them could not be seen. They were at the time walking along the beach armed with assegais, swords, bows, and slings, with which they hurled stones at us. But our bombards soon made it so hot for them that they fled behind their palisades ; but this turned out to their injury rather than their profit. During the three hours that we were occupied in this manner we saw two men killed, one on the beach and the other behind the palisades. When we were weary of this work we retired to our ships to dine. They at once began to fly, carrying their chattels in almadias to a village on the mainland.

After dinner we started in our boats, in the hope of being able to make a few prisoners, whom we might exchange for the two Indian Christians whom they held captive, and the negro who had deserted. With this object in view, we chased an almadia, which belonged to the sharif and was laden with his chattels, and another in which were four negroes. The latter was captured by Paulo de Gama, whilst the one laden with chattels was abandoned by the crew as soon as they reached the land. We took still another almadia which had likewise been abandoned. The negroes we took on board our ships. In the almadias we found fine cotton-stuffs, baskets made of palm-fronds, a glazed jar containing butter, glass phials with scented water, books of the Law, a box containing skeins of cotton, a cotton net, and many small baskets filled with millet. All these things, with the exception of the books, which were kept back to be shown to the

king, were given by the captain-major to the sailors who were with him and with the other captains.

On Sunday, 25th March, we took in water, and on Monday we proceeded in our armed boats to the village, when the inhabitants spoke to us from their houses, they daring no longer to venture on the beach. Having discharged a few bombards at them we rejoined our ships.

On Tuesday, 27th March, we left the town and anchored close to the islets of São Jorge, where we remained for three days in the hope that God would grant us a favourable wind.

ANONYMOUS

THE WRECK OF THE SAINT JOHN

[Of the many terrible shipwrecks suffered by the Portuguese on the southern coast of Africa, that of the galleon *Saint John* is the most famous. The tragical story of Manuel de Sousa was told in beautiful verse by Camoens, whose *Lusiad* was written only a few years after the event; but Camoens' elaborate Virgilian verse is to me less moving than the simple prose of the contemporary narrative. The full story will be found in vol. i. of Dr. Theal's *Records of South-Eastern Africa.*]

FROM the shore where they were wrecked, in thirty-one degrees, they set out on the 7th of July 1552 in the following order: Manuel de Sousa with his wife and children and eighty Portuguese, with slaves, Andrew Vás, the pilot, in his company with a banner of the crucifix uplifted, and his wife Dona Leonor, carried by slaves in a litter. These went first. Then the master of the galleon with the seamen and female slaves, and lastly, Pantaleão de Sà, with the rest of the Portuguese and slaves, about two hundred in all. All the company together numbered five hundred, of whom a hundred and eighty were Portuguese. In this manner they journeyed for a month, enduring hardships, hunger, and thirst, for during all that time they had nothing to eat but the rice which was saved from the galleon and

some fruit found in the thickets, the land yielding nothing else, nor did they meet any one from whom they could buy provisions, for the sterility of the country through which they passed was beyond description or belief.

During this month they journeyed about a hundred leagues, and because of the deviations they made to pass over the rivers, the distance they covered was not thirty leagues along the coast. They had already lost ten or twelve of their number, and an illegitimate son of Manuel de Sousa, about ten or eleven years of age, who was much weakened by hunger, and a slave who bore him on his shoulders were left behind. When Manuel de Sousa inquired for him, and was told he had been left about half a league behind, he was almost beside himself, because he had supposed him to be in the rear with his uncle Pantaleão de Sà, as had sometimes happened before, and thus he came to be lost. His father offered two men five hundred cruzados to return in search of him, but no one would accept the offer, for it was now near night, and any one lingering behind was devoured by lions and tigers. So he was obliged to proceed on his way, and abandon the son who was the desire of his eyes. By this we may see the sufferings endured by that gentleman before his death. Antonio de Sampayo, nephew of Lopo Vás de Sampayo, who had been governor of India, and five or six Portuguese, and several slaves, had also perished of sheer hunger and the hardships of the journey.

Meanwhile they had fought several times, but the Kaffirs were always worsted, though in one skirmish

they killed Diogo Mendes Dourada, who until his death fought like a gallant gentleman. The mingled hardships of vigilance, hunger, and travel were so great that more of the company failed every day, and not a day passed but one or two were left on the shore, or in the thickets, unable to go a step farther, and were afterwards devoured by tigers and serpents, which are numerous in those parts. Truly to see these men left daily in the desert while still alive was a source of great sorrow and pain to all, for he who was left bade the rest of the company, perhaps his father, brothers, and friends, go on their way, commanding them to the Lord God, and bitter was the grief caused by thus abandoning relatives and friends without power to succour them, knowing that they must shortly be devoured by wild beasts. If this is heartrending to those who hear of it, how much more so to those who had to see and endure it ?

Thus with great misfortunes they proceeded on their way, now penetrating the interior to pass rivers or in search of food, and then returning to the sea, climbing high mountains, and now descending others to their great peril ; and as if these hardships were not sufficient, they had to endure others from the Kaffirs. In this way they travelled for about two months and a half, and such were their sufferings from hunger and thirst that extraordinary things occurred nearly every day, of which I shall relate some of the most notable.

It often happened among them that a cup of water containing three-quarters of a pint was sold for ten

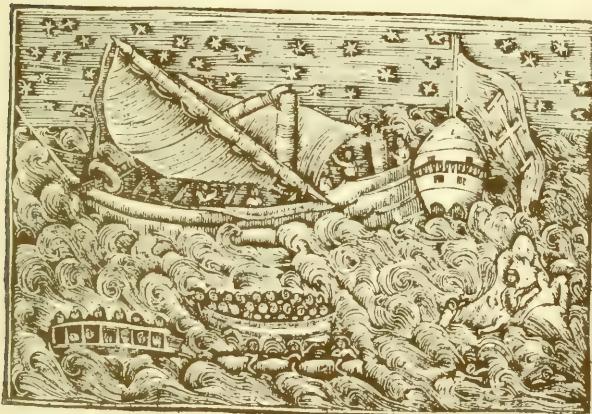
cruzados, and a hundred cruzados was made out of a kettle holding six quarts, and as this sometimes led to disorder, the captain used to send for a kettle full of water, there being no larger vessel in the company, giving a hundred cruzados to him who brought it, and then he divided it with his own hands, paying eight or ten cruzados a measure of three-quarters of a pint for what he required for his wife and children, distributing the rest at the same price. For the money thus paid one day, some one was found on the next willing to risk fetching the water for gain. Besides this they suffered great hunger, and paid heavily for any fish caught on the shore, or for any wild animal whatever.

Three months had now elapsed since they set out with the intention of reaching the river of Lourenço Marques, which is the watering-place of Boa Paz, travelling every day according to the nature of the ground, and always enduring the hardships aforesaid. For many days they had sustained themselves with such fruit as they could find, and roasted bones, and it often happened in the camp that the skin of a goat was sold for fifteen cruzados, and though dry, they soaked it in water and ate it. When they journeyed along the shore they lived on the shell-fish and fish which the sea cast up. At the end of three months they met with a Kaffir, the head of two kraals, an old man who seemed of good condition, and so he proved by the succour he afforded them. He told them they would do well to go no farther, but remain in his company, and he would maintain them as well as he could, for the want of provisions in the land was not

RELACAO DO NAUFRAGIO DA NAO SANTIAGO

No anno de 1585.

E Itinerario da gente que delle
se salvou.



E SCRITA
POR MANOEL GODINHO CARDOZO
E agora novamente acrescentada com
mais algumas noticias.

WRECK OF THE SANTIAGO

(One of the title-pages in Bernardo Gomes de Brito's compilation, "Historia Tragico Maritima" (Lisbon, 1735). The tracts included in the work are obviously reprints of a much earlier date.)

due to the barrenness of the earth, but to the fact that the Kaffirs sowed but little, and lived on the wild cattle which they killed.

This Kaffir king strongly urged Manuel de Sousa and his company to remain with him, saying that he was at war with another king in the country through which they must pass, and wanted their help, and if they went forward they would certainly be robbed by that king, who was more powerful than himself. Thus on account of the benefit and assistance he hoped for from their company, and because of his previous acquaintance with the Portuguese, through Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira, who had been there, he did all he could to prevent their proceeding. Those two men had given him the name of Garcia de Sà, because he was old and resembled him greatly, and was a good man (for there is no doubt that there are good and bad in all nations). Therefore he sheltered and respected the Portuguese, and did his utmost to detain them, assuring them that they would be robbed by that king with whom he was at war. And while making up their minds they remained there six days, but as it seems to have been decreed that Manuel de Sousa and most of his company should perish on that journey, they would not follow the advice of that petty king who pointed out their mistake.

The king, seeing that the captain was determined to leave that place, asked him if before he went he would help him with some men of his company against a king whom they had left in their rear, and it seemed to Manuel de Sousa and the Portuguese that they could

hardly refuse to do what he asked, on account of the good offices and shelter which they owed him, and for fear of offending him, as they were in his power and among his people. Manuel de Sousa asked his brother-in-law Pantaleão de Sà if he would go with twenty men and help his friend the king. Pantaleão de Sà with the twenty men, and five hundred Kaffirs and their chiefs, went back six leagues on the road they had come, and fought with a rebellious Kaffir and took away all his cattle, which are their spoils, and brought them to the camp where Manuel de Sousa was with the king, which expedition occupied five or six days.

After Pantaleão de Sà returned from the war in which he went to help the king, and he and those who went with him had rested from the labours of that expedition, the captain called a council to decide whether they should set out again, and they were so weak that they agreed to proceed in search of the river of Lourenço Marques, not knowing that they had reached it, for this river is that of the water of Boa Paz with three arms, all of which enter the sea by the same mouth, and they were on the first arm. And though they saw a red ornament which was a sign that Portuguese had been there before, their fortune blinded them, and they insisted on pushing forward. And as the river was large and could not be crossed except on canoes, the captain wished to see if it were possible to get possession of seven or eight which were secured with chains, in order to pass it, as the king refused to give them, because he tried in every way to prevent their crossing, from his desire to keep them with him. To

this end he sent certain men to see if it were possible to take the canoes, two of whom returned and said that it would be a very difficult matter, and those who maliciously remained behind laid hands on one of the canoes, embarked in it, and made off down the river, deserting their captain. Finding that it was impossible to cross the river except at the will of the king, the captain asked him to allow them to cross in his canoes, and he would pay his people well to take them over ; and to satisfy him he gave him some of his arms to allow him to go free and command them to be taken across the river.

Then the king went with them in person, and the Portuguese fearing some treason while they were crossing the river, Manuel de Sousa begged him to return to his kraal with his people, and leave them to cross at their will with only the negroes of the canoes. And as this negro king was free from malice, and willing to help them as much as he could, it was an easy matter to persuade him to return to the kraal, and he left them to cross the river at their will. Then Manuel de Sousa ordered thirty men to cross to the other bank in the canoes, with three muskets, and when they had landed, the captain with his wife and children crossed over, and the rest of the company after them, and until that time they had not been robbed, and they put themselves in marching order again.

They had travelled five days towards the second river, and had covered about twenty leagues, when they came to the central river, and found some negroes who directed them to the sea. This was after sunset, and

being on the bank of the river they saw two large canoes, and they pitched their camp in a sandy place, where they slept that night. This river was brackish, and there was no fresh water in the neighbourhood except in one place which they had left behind. In the night the thirst in the camp was so great that they were almost dead. Manuel de Sousa wished to send for water, but no one would fetch it under a hundred cruzados for each kettleful, and he sent them for it ; and every day it cost two hundred, but if they did not do this there was no help for them.

And the food being so scanty, as I have said before, the thirst was as described above, because our lord wished that water should serve them as provisions. Being in the same camp, the next day towards night they saw three canoes with negroes coming to them, who told them through a negress of the camp, who began to understand something of their language, that a ship had come there with men like themselves, but had now gone away. Then Manuel de Sousa ordered that they should be asked if they would convey them across the river ; the negroes replied that it was already night (for Kaffirs will do nothing at night), but that they would carry them over next day if they were paid. At daybreak the negroes came with four canoes, and at the price of a few nails began to carry the people across. The captain first sent over some men to guard their passage, and then embarked with his wife and children to await the rest of his company on the other bank, and with him went the three other canoes loaded with people.

They say that at that time the captain was suffering in his brain from constant watching, and the many hardships which fell more heavily upon him than upon the others. And being in this state, and thinking that the negroes intended some treason towards him, he placed his hand on his sword and drew it on the negroes who were rowing, crying ‘ Dogs ! where are you taking me ? ’

The negroes, seeing the naked sword, jumped into the water, and were in danger of being lost. Then his wife and some of those who were with him told him not to hurt the negroes, or they would be lost. In truth, any one who knew Manuel de Sousa, his discretion and gentleness, and had seen him act thus, might well have said that he was not in his right mind, for he was both discreet and prudent ; and henceforth he was never able to govern his people as before. And when he landed on the other bank, he complained greatly of his head, and they tied bandages round it. And there they all assembled once more.

Being on that bank and about to set out again, they saw a band of Kaffirs and prepared for fight, thinking they came to rob them. When they came close to our people they spoke to them, the Kaffirs asking who they were and what they came to seek. They answered that they were Christians, and had been wrecked in a ship, and begged that they would guide them to a large river which was farther on, and if they had any provisions that they would bring them and they would buy them. And the negroes said, through a Kaffir woman from Sofala, that if they wanted

provisions they should go with them to a kraal where their king was, and he would give them good entertainment.

At this time they were about a hundred and twenty persons, and Dona Leonor was now one of those who travelled on foot, and being a woman of noble rank, delicate, and young, she traversed the rough and painful roads as if she were a man accustomed to labouring in the fields, often consoling those of her company and helping to carry her children. This was after there were no more slaves to carry the litter in which she travelled before. It would truly seem that the grace of our Lord supported her, for without that it would have been impossible for a weak woman, so little accustomed to hardships, to travel by such long and painful roads, suffering constant hunger and thirst, for they had now travelled more than three hundred leagues, owing to the long rounds they took.

To return to the narrative. When the captain and his company heard that the king was close by, they took the Kaffirs for their guide, and with great caution went with them towards the place they told them of, suffering God knows what hunger and thirst. It was a league to the kraal where the king was, and as they drew near to it, he sent a Kaffir to say that they should not enter it, because they always conceal it (*i.e.* the chief's residence) carefully, but that they should encamp under some trees which were pointed out to them, and he would there send them provisions. Manuel de Sousa did so, as a man in a strange land, not knowing

as much about the Kaffirs as we do at present through this wreck and that of the ship *S. Bento*, or that a hundred men with muskets might traverse the whole of Kaffraria, for they fear them more than the devil himself.

Being encamped under the trees, he sent them provisions in exchange for nails. Here they remained five days, and it seemed to them that they might remain there until some vessel came from India, and so said the negroes. Then Manuel de Sousa asked the Kaffir king for a house in which he might take shelter with his wife and children. The Kaffir replied that he would give him one, but that all his people could not remain there together, for there was a want of provisions in the country ; but that he should remain with his wife and children, with such of his people as he chose, and the rest should divide themselves among the kraals, and he would command them to be supplied with provisions and houses until the arrival of some ship. This was the malice of the king, as appears by what afterwards occurred ; by which it is clear that Kaffirs have a great fear of muskets, as I have said ; for the Portuguese not having more than five muskets there, and about a hundred and twenty men, he did not dare to fight them, and in order to rob them, scattered them about in many places, as men who were brought to the last extremity of hunger ; and not knowing how much better it would be to remain together, they abandoned themselves to fate, and did the will of this king who was contriving their ruin, but would never listen to the advice of the other petty king

who spoke the truth and did them all the good in his power. And by this men may see that they should never say or do anything trusting to their own judgment and power, but should place everything in the hands of God our Lord.

When the Kaffir king had arranged with Manuel de Sousa that the Portuguese should be divided among the villages and kraals in order to subsist, he told him also that there were chiefs under him who would conduct his people, namely each one those who were allotted to him to be maintained, and this could not be unless he commanded the Portuguese to lay down their weapons, because the Kaffirs were afraid of them while they saw the arms, and he would command them to be put in a house and would return them when any Portuguese ship arrived.

Manuel de Sousa, who was very ill and not in his perfect senses, did not answer as if he had his proper understanding; he merely said that he would speak to his people. But as the hour had come in which they were to be robbed, he spoke to them and said that he would not go any farther, and in one way or another they must find a ship or other such means of safety as the Lord might ordain, for this river where they now were was that of Lourenço Marques, as he had been told by his pilot Andrew Vás. That any one who wished to go farther might do as he thought fit, but he himself would remain for love of his wife and children, who were so enfeebled with their great hardships that they could not walk, and he had no slaves to help them. That his determination was to die with

his family when it pleased God, and he asked those who went on if they met any Portuguese vessel to bring or send him news of it, and those who wished to remain with him might do so, and they should go with him wherever he went. And that the negroes might trust them and not take them for thieves who wished to rob them, it was necessary to give up their arms, to put an end to the misery they had endured so long from hunger. At this time the judgment of Manuel de Sousa and of those who agreed with him was not that of sane persons, for if they had considered it well they would have seen that the negroes could not approach them so long as they had their arms. The captain then commanded them to lay down the arms, in which, after God, their only safety lay, and they were given up against the will of some, especially against that of Dona Leonor, but there was no one who spoke against it except herself, thus it was of little avail. Then she said : ‘ You lay down your arms, and now I give myself up for lost with all these people.’ The negroes took the arms and carried them to the house of the Kaffir king.

So soon as the Kaffirs saw the Portuguese without arms, having already plotted this treason, they began to separate and rob them, leading them through the thickets, each one of those who fell to him. And by the time they reached the kraals they had stripped them all, leaving them with nothing on, and with many blows cast them out of their villages. Manuel de Sousa was not in this company, having remained with the king with his wife and children, and the pilot

Andrew Vás and about twenty others, because he had with him many jewels, precious stones, and money ; and it is said that what that company had brought with them as far as this place was worth more than a hundred thousand cruzados. When Manuel de Sousa with his wife and the said twenty persons were separated from the rest, they were immediately robbed of all they possessed, but were not stripped ; and the king told him to go in search of his company, for he did not wish to do him any further harm, nor to lay hands on his person or that of his wife. When Manuel de Sousa saw what had happened, he perceived what a great error he had been guilty of in giving up his arms, but he was now obliged to do what they told him, for it was not in his power to act otherwise.

The rest of the company, ninety in number, among whom were Pantaleão de Sà and three other noblemen, although they were all separated, little by little rejoined each other as they were able, for they were not far apart, after they had been robbed and stripped by the Kaffirs to whom the king had delivered them. And though they were in a wretched state and very sad, being in want of arms, clothes, and money with which to procure provisions, and without their captain, yet again they set out.

But now they had no longer the semblance of human beings, and having none to command them, they proceeded in disorder by different roads, some taking the woods and some the mountains, so that they were dispersed, and no one cared for anything further but to endeavour to save his life, either among

Kaffirs or Moors, for they no longer took counsel together, nor was there any one to assemble them for the purpose. And as men already lost, I shall speak of them no more, but shall return to Manuel de Sousa and his unfortunate wife and children.

Manuel de Sousa, seeing himself robbed and sent away by the king to rejoin his company, and having now no money, arms, or men to wield them, although he had been suffering from his head for many days, was yet able to feel this affront deeply. And what can now be thought of a delicate woman finding herself amid such hardship and want, and above all seeing her husband ill-treated before her eyes and unable to govern or defend his children? But as a woman of good sense, by the advice of the men who still remained with them, they began to journey through the thicket with no other hope or trust than God alone. At this time Andrew Vàs, the pilot, was still in her company, as well as the boatswain, who never left her, and one or two Portuguese women and a few female slaves. Thus proceeding on their way, they thought it well to follow the ninety men who had been previously robbed, and for two days they followed in their footsteps. Dona Leonor was now so weak, sad, and disconsolate at seeing her husband in such a state, and herself separated from the rest of the company, and deeming it impossible to rejoin them, that it is heartrending to think of it. While they were proceeding thus the Kaffirs again fell upon him and his wife and the few in their company, and there stripped them, leaving them nothing to cover them. Seeing themselves thus, with

two tender little children before them, they prayed to our Lord.

It is said that Dona Leonor would not allow herself to be stripped, but defended herself with blows and struggles, as she preferred that the Kaffirs should kill her rather than to find herself naked before the people, and there is no doubt but that her life would then have ended had Manuel de Sousa not begged her to let herself be stripped, reminding her that all are born naked, and since this was the will of God she should submit. One of the sorrows which she felt the most was to see two little children, her sons, crying before her and asking for food, without being able to succour them. Dona Leonor, seeing herself stripped, cast herself upon the ground, and covered herself with her hair, which was very long, while she made a pit in the sand in which she buried herself to the waist, and never rose from that spot. Manuel de Sousa then went to an old woman, her nurse, who had still an old torn mantilla, and asked her for it to cover Dona Leonor, and she gave it to him ; but in spite of all she would not rise from the spot where she threw herself down when she found herself naked.

In truth I know not who could pass over this without great grief and sorrow. To see a woman of such noble rank, daughter and wife of a nobleman of such honour, so ill-treated, and with such scant courtesy ! The men who were still in her company, when they saw Manuel de Sousa and his wife thus stripped, withdrew a little, ashamed to see their captain and Dona Leonor in such a state. Then she said to Andrew Vàs,

the pilot : ‘ You see to what we are reduced, and that we can go no farther, but must perish here for our sins ; go on your way and try to save yourselves, and commend us to God ; if you should reach India or Portugal at any time, say how you left Manuel de Sousa and me with my children.’ And they, seeing that in their part they could in nowise relieve the sorrow of their captain, nor the poverty and misery of his wife and children, went on their way through the thicket, endeavouring to save their lives.

After Andrew Vás departed from Manuel de Sousa and his wife, there remained with him Duarte Fernandes, the boatswain of the galleon, and a few female slaves, of whom three were saved and came to Goa, and told how they witnessed the death of Dona Leonor. Dom Manuel de Sousa, although his brain was affected, was not unmindful that his wife and children had nothing to eat, and though still disabled by a wound which the Kaffirs gave him in one leg, in this state went into the thicket to seek for fruit that they might eat. On his return he found Dona Leonor very weak, both from hunger and weeping, for ever since the Kaffirs stripped her she had not risen from the place or ceased to weep. And he found one of the children dead, and with his own hands buried him in the sand. The next day Manuel de Sousa again went into the thicket to look for fruit, and on his return found Dona Leonor dead, as well as the other child, and five slaves weeping over her with loud cries.

They say that he did nothing when he saw her dead, except send the slave woman to a little distance, and

sit beside her with his face supported on one hand for the space of half an hour, not weeping or saying a single word, but sitting thus with his eyes fixed upon her, and taking no account of the child. At the end of the said half-hour he arose and began to make a grave in the sand with the help of the slaves, and always without saying one word buried her with her son. This being done, he took the same path as when he went to seek fruit, and without saying anything to the slaves disappeared in the thicket and was never seen again. It would seem that journeying through the thicket, there can be no doubt that he was devoured by tigers and lions. Thus husband and wife perished, having traversed the lands of the Kaffirs for six months amidst such hardships.

Those who escaped of all this company, as well from among those who remained with Manuel de Sousa when he was robbed as from the ninety who preceded him on the way, would be about eight Portuguese, fourteen male slaves, and three female slaves of those who were with Dona Leonor when she died. Among these were Pantaleão de Sà, Tristan de Sousa, the pilot Andrew Vàs, Balthezar de Sequeira, Manuel de Castro, and Alvara Fernandes. These were wandering about the country, with no hope of ever reaching a Christian land, when a ship came into that river, in which was a relation of Diogo de Mesquita, in search of ivory, and hearing tidings that there were some Portuguese lost in that country, he commanded them to be sought for, and ransomed them with beads. Each person cost twopence three farthings worth of

beads, which is a thing more esteemed among the negroes than anything else. Had Manuel de Sousa been alive, he too would have been ransomed, but it seems that it was better for his soul as it was, since our Lord so willed it. All these arrived at Mozambique on the 25th of May 1553.

MANUEL DE MESQUITA PERESTRELLO

NARRATIVE OF THE WRECK OF THE SHIP *SAINT BENEDICT*

[The *Saint Benedict* was wrecked on the South African coast in 1554. The narrative of the shipwreck is vividly told by Perestrello, one of the survivors, a great Portuguese navigator, who afterwards prepared a chart and detailed account of the South African coast for King Sebastian. (See vol. i. *Records of South-Eastern Africa.*)]

I

THE best dressed among us had on nothing but a shirt without sleeves and drawers to his knees, for every one prepared himself when the ship grounded to be able to swim more easily, so that we were all wet and benumbed with cold. While the sun was hot, we stopped on the shore to dry ourselves, talking of the many different and disastrous modes of death by which we had seen those overtaken who were missing from among us; but when the sun was going down we retired into a wood which was close by, through which there ran a river of water, with which we washed the salt from our mouths and quenched our thirst, this being the first and last refreshment we had that day.

In the darkness of the night we took refuge at the foot of the trees which were there, each one lost in thought of his own fate, and occupied in grieving for

those things by which he was most afflicted. But even this small relief could not be enjoyed in quiet, for it rained so heavily that night that our ill-clothed bodies could not endure the cold of it, and we arose and walked up and down in the darkness, enduring this hardship to remedy those caused by want of sleep, cold, and our own imaginations, and all these things made us long for the morning. As soon as day broke, we returned to the shore to seek for some clothes with which to cover ourselves, and found it strewn with dead bodies, disfigured by hideous wounds and deformities, which gave evidence of the painful death they had suffered. Some lay above and some underneath the rocks, and of many nothing was visible but heads, arms, or legs, and their faces were covered with sand, boxes, and other things. No small space was occupied with the property cast up from the wreck, for as far as our eyes could reach, both sides of the shore were covered with scented drugs and an infinite diversity of goods and precious things, many of them strewn round their owners, to whom they were not only worthless in their present necessity, but many by their weight had caused the death of those who had been excessively attached to them in life. And truly it was a strange conclusion by which misfortune brought these things to pass, and the memory of it might suffice to prevent poverty from being considered so great an evil, to fly from which we forsake God, our neighbour, country, parents, brethren, friends, wives, and children, exchanging peace and pleasure for such hardships as we suffered here. . . .

From the surplus of things thus cast away we soon provided ourselves with what was necessary, and having somewhat restored our feeble strength with a little wet biscuit which we found, we returned to the spot where we had slept the previous night, to make some sort of shelter in which to take refuge during the days we were to remain in this place. Every one lent a hand for the purpose, and in a few hours there might be seen a superb lodging made of rich carpets, pieces of gold cloth, and silk, put to a very different use from that for which they were made, and for which they were intended by their owners, who had earned them with the pains by which such things are acquired. . . .

Night being come, and it raining as the night before, each one returned to his place of shelter, and busied himself in building fires, that we might not suffer so much from the cold. Though the counsel of the wise man is that marvellous and surprising things should rather be passed over in silence than related at the risk of being disbelieved, I will venture to relate one, on account of the many witnesses I can bring forward to vouch for it; which is that that night when we were all sheltered in that spot, and darkness had closed in, we clearly heard a loud clamour from the place where the ship went to pieces, and frequent cries of to starboard, to larboard, aloft, and other confused words which we could not understand, such as were heard when the ship was already swamped, and the force of the tempest drove us on shore. The cause of this could never be fully and certainly explained, but we suppose that this was presented to our ears because

they were still ringing with the cries we heard at that time, or else it was due to certain evil spirits rejoicing over those who had fallen into their power (a thing which may our Lord in His pity avert). But to whatever cause it was due, it is certain that it occurred, or at least it seemed so to all, for though at first each one thought himself the only one to whom the dreadful sound was audible, and from the strangeness of it scarcely held it to be true, yet as time went on one questioned the other as to whether he could hear it, and every one answered in the affirmative, and from the hour, darkness, and stormy weather of the night, we concluded that it was due to one of the causes aforesaid.

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The next day, which was the 27th of April, at day-break, we sought the captain's quarters, and found him already waiting for us. There, reviewing our number, we found that we were three hundred and twenty-two persons, namely two hundred and twenty-four slaves and ninety-eight Portuguese, most of them armed with lances or swords and shields, and one musket which alone was saved, with ten or twelve charges of powder damaged by water. With this company the captain set out for the river, leaving the shelter where we had established ourselves as it was, and in it a young ship's boy and a female slave, both with a broken leg and not likely to live, much less to travel. We spent this day crossing the river on two rafts which we made of the hogsheads, and here a slave was drowned who was swimming to hold the

lines by which the rafts were drawn. We slept that night on the bank of the river, and at daybreak prepared to set out.

Inasmuch as we were all deceived, thinking that the interior would be more populated than the sea-shore, because of the small commerce these people have with the sea, we determined to wait for the Kaffirs, who swam over to us every day, that they might point out some road which led to the populated parts ; but when they came and saw that we had crossed over to their side, they would not trust us or speak to us, in spite of our calling to them. Therefore, counting any further time wasted upon them, we put ourselves in marching order, carrying a crucifix raised upon a lance, and a blessed banner which was entrusted to Francis Pires, the boatswain, with the other seamen who followed him (for they chose him for their leader), and a picture of Mercy in the rear, where was the captain with the passengers and the slaves ; and those who were unarmed in the middle carrying the wounded among them, for nearly a fourth of our number commenced the journey with sticks and crutches. We arranged ourselves in single file, one behind the other, the width of the road not admitting of more, and set our faces towards the interior by a path made by elephants, directing ourselves towards a height where it seemed to us we might discover some settlement or signs of it. While we climbed the hill, each one capable of understanding it was thinking in himself how blindly we were setting out upon this long, uncertain, and perilous journey, during which we must certainly

die of want and privation if we escaped other dangers, thus without speaking a word, our hearts heavy with these forebodings, and with our eyes filled with tears, we could not refrain from looking back many times at the ruin of that beautiful and unfortunate ship, for though not two timbers of it held together, but all was shattered on the rocks, still while we could see the wreck it seemed to us a relic and a certain portion of our desired country, from whose shelter and company (being the last service we expected of it) we could not separate ourselves without deep feeling. In this manner, after many pauses, we reached the top of the height, but found a very different prospect from what we expected, for not only did we see no signs of habitation, but as far as our eyes could reach we were surrounded by valleys so low and mountains so high, that the latter seemed to reach to the stars and the former to the abyss. But the worst of all was that the path by which we came was lost to sight, and we remained without knowing where to direct ourselves. After some confusion as to what was to be done, we decided to make direct for the north-east, thinking thus to shorten the journey to Sofala, and with this intent we set out again and travelled till the afternoon, when, on account of the rain and our being weary with the bad road and our unaccustomed burdens, we took shelter in a wood, where we passed that night. . . .

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During this journey the Licentiate Christopher Fernandes, who in India was chancellor and chief guardian of orphans, sat down upon a rock, his age

being unable to endure such hardship any farther, and said that he had done all he could so far to preserve his life, but now his strength could hold out no longer. He bade us go on our way and leave him there to die, only commanding to our care his little son, three years of age, whom fortune had ordained for his greater anguish he should bring with him, after being miraculously saved from the ship, and who was now carried in the arms of a nurse who had reared him, being thus at such a tender age, the companion of his father's hardships and exile. As we could render him no assistance by remaining there, but rather by delay risked our own chances of safety, we bade him farewell with many mournful words, his friends consoling him with thoughts of the passion of our Lord. . . .

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The captain and we his followers proceeded towards the rock, and making the sign of the cross, began our perilous ascent with the greatest care and caution that we could, sometimes clinging to the branches of the shrubs which grew upon its face, sometimes fixing our lances in the stones and sliding downwards, so that on hands and knees, on our backs, or lying full length, according to the peril and nature of the ground before us, our Lord willed that we should all arrive in safety on the bank of the river. Here we cut down the largest trees which were at hand, and laid them from rock to rock. From the desire we all had of finishing this task, in less time than the difficulty of the work demanded, we had completed the necessary staging, upon which, in great fear on account of the depth and

current of the channels formed by the water, we began our passage across. . . . The bank was thickly wooded and full of rocks, and the height and shadows of the trees, together with the darkness of the night, made our way still more obscure, so that none of us could tell where the others were. We called out therefore from different places, and by the sound of our voices formed ourselves into a body at the foot of the rock, in a spot which was so dark and thickly set with trees that no one was able to move from the spot where he halted, nor to lie down ; and thus we remained on our feet without sleeping, leaning against the trees all that night. . . . When we were thus reunited we resumed our journey towards the sea, all suffering greatly from hunger, the little provision we had with us being now spoilt by the rain, and the herbs which were known to us which we found on our way were not sufficient for our necessity. That day, crossing the top of those summits, we came to a headland from which we could perceive the sea, and in our joy at the sight we made our day's journey longer than usual, and slept in a deserted village, where we found pieces of China and many other things in use among us, which we felt certain had remained from the shipwreck of Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda.

The next day, which was the thirteenth of our journey, we reached the sea at the very spot where the galleon came ashore, where we found the capstan and other pieces of timber thrown upon a rocky reef which stretched for many leagues along the coast. Here we acknowledged our error in having left the

seashore, which proved gentler and offered more resources to our necessities than the wildness of the interior; and among the rocks (of which all the coast of the country called Natal is full), we found many oysters and mussels, which at low tide, or that part of the day when we rested, afforded us some refreshment. Besides this the ground was smooth, clear, and proper for walking, and most of the rivers, which are numerous in that country and impassable in the interior, when they reached the seashore were either blocked up by sand, or, if they entered the sea openly, by reason of the many sand-banks which they formed, the current was shallow, and they were easily forded, while in the interior the contrary was always the case.

We here pursued our journey for five days, constantly, followed by Kaffirs, who did not dare to attack us, but lay in wait for loiterers or those who were too weary to proceed. At the end of that time, in the latitude of thirty degrees, we came upon a river which is not marked upon the maps, but is one of the most considerable on that coast, and which the largest ships can enter in the winter. We had little trouble in making two rafts, but the ease with which we accomplished it was far outweighed by the difficulty of the current, and the Kaffirs who lay in wait to attack those who were left the last. However, in spite of all, we succeeded in disembarking on the other bank, after some delays and blows which could not be avoided. Continuing on our way, we travelled four days, at the end of which we rested on the bank of another river, awaiting the low tide on the following day, because

we thought we should then be able to ford it at the edge of the salt water where it formed a bank, and thus avoid the trouble and risk of rafts. It being now almost night, certain Kaffirs appeared on the opposite bank and showed us some cakes made of a seed called nacharre, which resembles mustard, saying that they would sell them in exchange for iron ; and as where food was concerned, our necessity admitted of no debate, we ended by buying it, allowing them to scramble for pieces of iron ; and this was the first place where we made any barter, having already journeyed for twenty-two days. . . .

The news of this was no sooner spread by them among the two or three villages close by, than every soul in them came out to see us, singing and clapping their hands with many joyful demonstrations, bringing cakes, roots, and other things upon which they live, to sell to us. Among them was a young man from Bengal, who remained after the other shipwreck, who being recognised by us was immediately seized and embraced, and carried to the captain with great rejoicing. Seating ourselves round him, we put many questions to him concerning things it was necessary for us to know, but he, either because but few of his country were embarked with him, or because he had lost the knowledge of our tongue from disuse, could scarcely understand us. By a few words, however, we learnt that the country was thickly populated and provided with cattle, and though we begged him many times to remain with us, offering him many bribes because of the need we had of a guide, he would not

consent, but in due time returned to sleep with his companions, and would not see us again. The next day the Kaffirs returned with a cow and some goats and cakes, which we bought from them in exchange for an astrolabe and other pieces of iron. After this we resumed our journey, Jorge da Barca and another man remaining there, being so weary that they dared not attempt to go farther, and with them remained about thirty slaves, who, overcome with the hardships they had endured and persuaded by the natives of the country, refused to continue in our company. . . .

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As we were setting out, we saw a group of Kaffirs emerge from a wood, and among them a naked man with a bundle of assegais upon his back (according to their custom), who was in no way different from the rest of them, and we considered him as one of them, until by his hair and speech we found him to be a Portuguese named Rodrigo Tristão, who also survived from the other wreck. Having been for three years exposed to the cold and heat of those parts, he had so altered in colour and appearance that there was no difference between him and the natives.

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Perestrello then relates how the captain Fernão d'Alvares Cabral was drowned in crossing a river on the 2nd of June, the boatswain being elected in his place. The narrative continues :—

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As soon as it was light we resumed our journey,

with the intention of returning to the seashore, there being nothing between it and us but some sand-hills and a good deal of thicket which runs along it. The Kaffirs seeing us set out, all those in the district having assembled in a large army, well armed according to their custom, came to the place where we were, and while talking peaceably to us, began to steal different things from those who were not upon their guard, and those who did this mingled with the rest and went on talking securely, as if they had done no harm. We, understanding their evil designs and fearing their numbers, were still more desirous of reaching the shore, because if it came to fighting, there we could put our backs to the sea and avoid being surrounded. With this purpose we were making towards it, but as soon as the Kaffirs were aware of our intention they placed themselves before us with their assegais prepared, saying that we should not go except where they chose to guide us. We, both because the way lay over a thickly wooded hill, and because we wished to get rid of them without a fight, being very weak and not having more than fifteen or twenty lances and five or six swords among us, all the other arms having been bartered away for want of other iron, did not dispute the point, but took the road they pointed out. As soon as they saw this, thinking we were afraid, they raised a loud shout as if in scorn of our cowardice, and thenceforward, full of confidence, they began openly to divide the arms and spoils which they hoped to win from us. The interpreter, hearing what they were saying, gave us warning of it, telling us that they

were resolved to fight us as soon as they were joined by some others, who were waiting farther on to assist them. Finding from this that we could not avoid a fight, and considering how much better it would be for us while they were fewer, we again made for the shore (on account of the favourable position it offered us, as aforesaid), directing our march towards a hill over which, though thickly wooded, the way was shorter. They, seeing our intention, again placed themselves before us with their arms prepared, saying that we must go with them, and as we were determined not to do their will, we prepared ourselves for the battle we expected, the captain commanding those who had arms to place themselves in the front and rear, and those who were unarmed in the middle, and he who carried the musket to fire and reload it, fearing it would hang fire as it had been loaded for some days, and was wet with the rain. He who bore the musket began to obey these orders by striking a light with the flint and steel, and those who were out of the thicket began to warn those who were in it, with great amazement, to be on their guard, for we had a light and they did not know how we procured it. This plunged them all into such surprise, fear, and amazement, that we partly perceived the weakness they afterwards showed ; but all this was nothing compared to the effect of the report of the musket upon them, for then they turned and fled as if they were pursued by devils, and dispersed so that in a moment every one of them had disappeared. I know not where they hid themselves in such a short time, being so numerous.

Seeing the fear they had of the musket, in the future we made more account of it for our defence.

Our way being thus clear, we climbed the hill aforesaid till we reached the summit, where there was a village from which all had fled who could do so, and there remained only four or five old men, so old that they dared not follow the rest, and who expected from us the fate they had deserved ; but in spite of our just cause of offence, in pity for their age we would do them no harm, but rather left them in peace, and went on our way until we reached the shore. There we met with such a terrible tempest and storm of wind, that that day will ever be remembered by us who escaped as one of the most painful of the journey, for the whole of that coast was composed of dry loose sand, which was blown by the wind in such clouds that we could not see each other, and great hills of sand were raised suddenly in places where the ground was quite smooth before. We could not remain still so much as a quarter of an hour, or we should have been buried ; therefore, fearing to share the fate of Cambyses, we gave up all thought of the rest of which we stood so much in need, and with our backs to the wind we resumed our journey (if it can be thus called) almost flying. By the fury of the wind the sand beat continually on our legs and such parts of our persons as were exposed, until we were covered with blood ; but the coast being barren, with no trees or shelter where we might take refuge, we were obliged to endure this hardship longer than our strength could support it. Proceeding in this way, we came upon our companions who had separated from

us in crossing the marsh, as before related, and though we were unwilling to stop except in some wood which would afford us shelter, as not one of us could take a step farther, and the blood was trickling from us, we took refuge among some shrubs which were at the foot of a hill, where we passed that night in excessive suffering, both from the cold in our wounds and the want of all other relief which was so necessary to us. . . .

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The night being moonlit, three sailors searched along the coast in hope of finding something cast up by the storm, and at the mouth of the river they found a shark thrown on the shore, which they divided between them and sold to us at fifteen and twenty cruzados a slice, two fingers thick. The want of other provisions caused such a number of bidders, that when all the body had been disposed of at the aforesaid rate, some one was found willing to pay twenty thousand reis for half the head, so that a good-sized farm might have been bought in this country for the price of that fish. . . .

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The next day, when we had all reached the opposite side, we continued our journey round the bay, and as all the land there was uninhabited and extremely barren of trees and herbs, and as in the villages we had left behind we had not traded for anything, our want was so extreme that we were forced to eat our shoes and the straps of the shields which we carried. Any one who found the bone of an animal bleached with age till it was white as snow, ate it reduced to charcoal as if it was a plentiful banquet. Through

this want of food the people became so weak that thenceforward they fell into disorder, loitering at the foot of shrubs and falling on the road at every step. All were reduced to such insensibility, and were so affected by their suffering, that even those who remained behind did not realise that they must die in a few hours in abandonment, and those who went forward, expecting the same fate themselves at every moment, showed no sorrow at a sight so fitted to call it forth. Thus they passed over each other without showing any sign of feeling, as if they had been a herd of irrational animals grazing in that place, their eyes and attention fixed upon the surrounding country, to see if they could discover herb, bone, or insect on which they might lay hands (even though it might be poisonous), and if any of these things appeared, all rushed to seize it first ; and there were often disputes between relations and friends over a locust, beetle, or lizard, so great was the want and suffering which made such base things of value. After travelling in this misery for three days, at length we came to a hill where there were many wild onions, and our suspicion that they were deadly poison was not sufficient to prevent our supping upon them, and our Lord was pleased that they should do us no harm.

II

Most high, great, just, and all-powerful God, true searcher of the human heart ! Thou, Lord, who from thy resplendent throne seest the affliction and anguish in which I am plunged, the mournful hour being now

come in which, in the course of this narrative, I must set down the untimely and lamentable death of Antonio Sobrinho de Mesquita, my brother, and knowest how I went forth with him alive, and have returned without him, by which I am plunged in perpetual sorrow, succour me, Lord, in this my necessity, and revive my spirits, bowed down with the remembrance of such grief, that I may not thereby be bereft of words, and may continue this history, putting aside my private sorrow to be lamented by me alone, according to the love I bore the cause of it.

To return to the subject, while we were travelling through that part where I broke off the thread of my narrative, I saw my brother grow weaker, so that he was unable to keep up with the rest, and for five or six days he and I remained behind, reaching the places where they camped at night the last of the company ; and though the captain waited for us very often, and for our sake halted at night earlier than usual, even this was not sufficient to enable us to keep up with him, for as the weakness of privation increased, so also did our delay. Thereupon the captain, seeing that when they set out the next morning we were still a long way behind, waited till we came up, and then said that we saw to what misfortune our sins had brought us, and all these people were complaining of him because he constantly waited for us, exclaiming that while they had breath they must struggle to get out of this evil country, that ever so little time wasted in these delays would be enough to cause them all to perish, and therefore we should make up our mind what we intended

to do, and not linger behind, or if the strength of Antonio Sobrinho would not suffice, and I was determined to remain with him, we should declare as much, that no further time might be wasted in delay which could not save us and was a manifest danger to the others; that God knew with what sorrow he said this, but that his duty to those under his care made it necessary.

And as Antonio Sobrinho replied to this that he would have been left behind many days ago had it not been for me, and that now he could not take another step forward, I said to the captain that I saw there was good reason for what he stated, and since our Lord was pleased that of father, sons, and family who came in that ship not one should escape, each seeing the disastrous death of the others, I gave him many thanks, and accepted this fate in penance for my sins, being determined to remain with my brother and be his companion in death as I had been in life; and since it was certain that his weakness increased each day, proceeding as it did from hunger in which they could render no assistance, I begged them all to delay no longer, but should our Lord be pleased to remember them and bring them to a Christian land, I only asked one thing of them, that they should not tell the true facts of our death, but say that we were drowned on leaving the ship, not to increase the affliction of a sad and disconsolate mother, who remained in this kingdom, prostrated by the death of her husband and sons.

Hearing this, Antonio Sobrinho passionately declared that I must not speak of such a thing, nor would he consent to it, but required me, in the name

of God and Saints Peter and Paul, to go away and leave him, calling on the captain and the rest of the company in the same way not to consent to leave me, saying that if he felt in himself any hope of life, nothing could console him so much as my company, but now he was at his last hour, and all around him was death and the signs of death ; therefore I should take no further heed of him, for he required nothing further of me but that I should commend him to God, to whom he commended me in like manner ; and he begged me that his death might be regarded by me as a great mercy from the divine hands, for so he himself esteemed it, adding that God knew if any sentiment of sorrow remained in him, it was the thought that grief for his death might be the cause of bringing me sooner to the like pass. As the captain and other persons endeavoured with much reasoning to persuade me not to remain, I complaining that they should judge me so ill as to think that their entreaties could turn me from my duty, persisted in my purpose. Whereupon, with no small show of grief, they bade us farewell and proceeded on their way, and only a young man whom I took from this kingdom and a slave remained with me, refusing to leave me, though I begged them many times to do so. Seeing that their company could only serve to increase my sorrow in life and disturb me in death, I was forced to repay their good intentions with such an ill return as to take up the lance I carried with me and drive them from me with blows ; and I wish to make this remembrance of them here, because their loyalty to me deserved no less.

Remaining thus alone with my brother, after he had rested I begged him to rise while it was yet day and God gave him life, and go forward as well as he could, for it might please Him to bring us by chance to some village where we might find relief, or if not, it would be better to die in the power of men than of animals, which must be very numerous in that country, judging from the many different kinds of footprints with which the ground was covered. At this he was much offended, and would not answer me for some time, but at length seeing that I did not cease to importune him, he broke the silence and said that he entreated me not to remain there, but to leave him both in respect for my own life and his death ; but since I would not do so, I must know that what I saw before me was no longer my brother, nor should I regard him as such, being only a dead body and a little earth as I would soon see ; and since it must be so, he begged me not to waste the short space of life which remained to him in seeking relief which he no longer required, but to let him commend himself to our Lord and meditate upon His sacred passion, that He might assist him in this hour, and that I should aid him to do this, for this was all that he required, and the last request he had to make of me. In this and other equally sad and salutary discourses we passed some time, till at length, moved by my sorrow, he made an effort to rise, and journeyed on, but he had not gone far when he again lay down, and thus sometimes going forward, sometimes falling, little by little we followed the rest of the company. These, after they had separated from us,

went forward till the hour of vespers, when they came upon a marsh which lay across their path, with a river running in the middle, and as they stood in doubt as to where they might cross it, some Kaffirs appeared upon the opposite bank, whom they begged to show them the ford, and they replied that they could not do so then, but would show them the next day. Our people, seeing that it was necessary to wait for a guide, retired to a wood close by, and spent the rest of that day in seeking some means of subsistence. As their day's journey was short, on account of the obstacle of this river, my brother and I, following on their track with the aforesaid delays, when the night had closed in, came in sight of the fires which they made and rejoined them, finding them more contented than on previous nights, both from the hope of reaching a village next day, and because that afternoon, on the borders of the marsh, they found some water-lilies such as grow in lakes, which to their necessity seemed an excellent dish. Though my brother and I had no share of these, because we arrived too late, yet we supped upon the sandals which I had on, and our equal necessity made us find them no less delicious.

In the morning the Kaffirs whom we were expecting showed themselves on the opposite bank of the river. As appeared from after events, they had spent all the afternoon of the previous day in assembling. As soon as they were opposite us they pointed out a certain spot where they said we might cross over; but we found so much mud in passing from the place where we slept to the river, that, together with signs of evil

intentions which we perceived in them, we were afraid to enter the water. They, seeing our distrust, made light of the matter, telling us not to be afraid, for others of our countrymen had passed there before us ; so that, moved by their persuasions as well as by the necessity of reaching the other bank, we began to cross the river all in a body, that we might be able to resist them wherever they attacked us. We had not taken many steps before we all sank in the ooze up to the waist, for there were not two spans of water above it, so that it soon reached to our shoulders. In these straits each one showed signs of the extremity to which his strength had been reduced, and the mud was so deep and sticky that we were sometimes stuck in one spot for a long while, struggling to free ourselves, without being able to move a step forward. When we had succeeded in freeing one leg and rested on it to free the other, it sank in again, and we were unable to extricate either, as we were not then in a fit state for such struggles. Some lost hope of ever emerging, and weary and disheartened with everything, determined to remain there stuck fast, and would doubtless have done so, and have perished by such a novel and cruel mode of death, if those who loved them had not encouraged them many times to renewed efforts, and made them cross to the other bank.

My brother Antonio Sobrinho died during the passage which presented the aforesaid difficulties, his strength being already reduced to the last extremity. I dragging him out of the mud when he could not free himself, with such pain and agony as is known to God

alone, we reached the current of the river, which ran by the opposite bank. Here there was very little mud, but so much water that it covered us, so that those who crossed had to get over several lengths of paces without their feet touching the ground until they reached land on the opposite side. And as we were delayed by his weakness we were left the last in the river, and not knowing how to swim, as soon as we reached the deep part I crossed over and placed myself as near it as I could to help him when he should reach me, but his weakness was such that, when he let himself go, the water carried him off his feet, and he was swept down the river. Though I managed by an effort to seize him by the arm, I did not deserve so much favour from our Lord as to be able to raise him above the water before he rendered up his spirit to Him. As I had crossed the river once before among the first, to help defend the passage if necessary, and if not, to ease myself of my arms, because with them it was impossible to help him, when I returned for him and we were enduring what I have related, the rest of the company, in fear of the Kaffirs, withdrew a short distance from the place where I left them, because it was marshy. There was no one to help me at the time of this sad event, except a feeble ship's boy, who remained there overcome with fatigue. I drew him to the dry shore, and covered him with a few reeds, which was the most pious office that in my weakness and sorrow I could render him in that hour. And this being done, as the captain had been calling me for some time to assist in the fight against the Kaffirs who had

posted themselves in his path, seeing that I could do no more in that place, and it being no time for tears, nor if it were could sufficient be found for such a grief, bidding farewell to that body which was so beloved by me in life, and now wanting the animating spirit was torn from my eyes by the most piercing and unhappy stroke of fate and left in those deserts, I went my way. . . .

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The next day, leaving that place, we passed by other Kaffir villages, the inhabitants of which joined with those of the place where we had slept, and their purpose being such as I have stated, they endeavoured to carry it out when they saw how their numbers had increased. One of them therefore attacked one of our people who was not upon his guard, and snatching the sword from his side, fled with it. Seeing that we passed over this first offence without doing more than pressing them to leave us, another was bold enough to try to take the axe from him who carried it, but he was on the alert, and the Kaffir could not get it out of his hands, but rather we all fell upon him, and upon those who rushed to defend him, and had a lively skirmish, in which the robber was knocked down with thrusts from our lances, but we were so little inclined for such an office, that though he lay on the ground for some time, and we gave him nearly twenty thrusts with our lances, he was not wounded by any, though he had no other means of defence than the skin in which he was born. He withdrew with one hand cut off by a sword-blow from the captain, and though his companions did

their best to revenge him, seeing at last that they could not break our ranks, and how badly those came off who attempted more, they withdrew little by little until we were free from them all.

Being rid of these people, we resumed our journey along a sandy path where we saw a large herd of buffaloes, zebras, and horses, which we only saw in this place during the whole of our journey. Passing on, we came to a marsh through which ran a river that could not be forded except by a certain elephant track which crossed it from side to side, and this we feared very much to attempt, both because the water was so deep and because it was full of sea-horses, which observing us, gathered in large herds, and raising their bodies half out of the water made for the spot where we were with such fury and neighing that no one dared to be the first to attempt the passage ; but at last, seeing there was no help for it, beating the water before us with our lances, and making a loud outcry, because we perceived that they were somewhat frightened by it, we crossed to the other side. Then, wishing to reach the sea, we found that the whole width of the marsh, which was about half a league, was covered with extremely tall trees with thick foliage, through which the sun could never penetrate to the stagnant water at the bottom, causing it to be so cold and evil-smelling that this, joined to its depth and the quantity of mud, made the passage so difficult that though we journeyed along it all that day and six others, and attempted many times to reach the opposite side, we were never able to do so.

As all the time we were travelling along this infernal lake we found no springs, roots, herbs, fruit, or any other means of subsistence, our necessity grew to such a pitch that we were obliged to eat a species of bean, which was the worst and most deadly poison of any which we ate during our journey, for as soon as they were swallowed those who ate them fell upon the ground with all the outward signs of death, so that if they were not at once assisted with bezoar they could not go a step farther, but remained there writhing and struggling with pain and frenzy as if they were possessed. Those, therefore, who had suffered so much from this food, as well as those who would not partake of it, having seen what the others endured, as nothing else was to be found, were all so weakened that every day many were left behind in such want and abandonment that, if one may say so, it would have moved bears and tigers to pity, though in these parts we proved more merciless than they, for each one was so taken up with fear of his own fate that all were beside themselves, and if any feeling remained to them they employed it only in bewailing their evil fortune and the sins which had brought them to such a pass. Truly, if any person had been watching us from the summit of the mountains, although he were a savage reared in the caves of those desert ranges, seeing us thus, naked, barefoot, burdened, strangers lost and destitute, eating wild herbs, of which we could not find sufficient, he would have understood that we were men who had sinned grievously against God, or otherwise His accustomed clemency would not have suffered

such severe punishment to fall upon such miserable bodies. . . .

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Thus we arrived (at a Kaffir kraal), only fifty-six Portuguese and six slaves, on the 7th of July, having been seventy-two days on the road, during which we journeyed more than three hundred leagues on account of the rounds which we made. It was easily seen in our state and appearance how we had fared upon the road, for every one had his skin clinging to his bones, and looked more like an image of death than a living being, and our thinness, together with the poverty of our rags and the filth with which we were covered through labour and want, so disgusted the natives that they came to the huts where we were and assailed us with all manner of scorn. We therefore asked the king to lodge us in some huts which stood apart from the rest in a corner of the town, which he immediately did, telling us not to walk about the town, in order that we might not be ill-treated, and that everything we needed would be brought to us for sale. . . .

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After we had thus spent a few troubled days, the Kaffirs killed two elephants in one night, and the king sent word to our captain that we should go into the wood with him next day, and there he commanded the quarter of an elephant to be given to us, which was equally divided among all. This he did whenever one of those animals was killed. Certainly, putting aside his greed of money, we had no other cause of complaint against him than his want of power, for he always

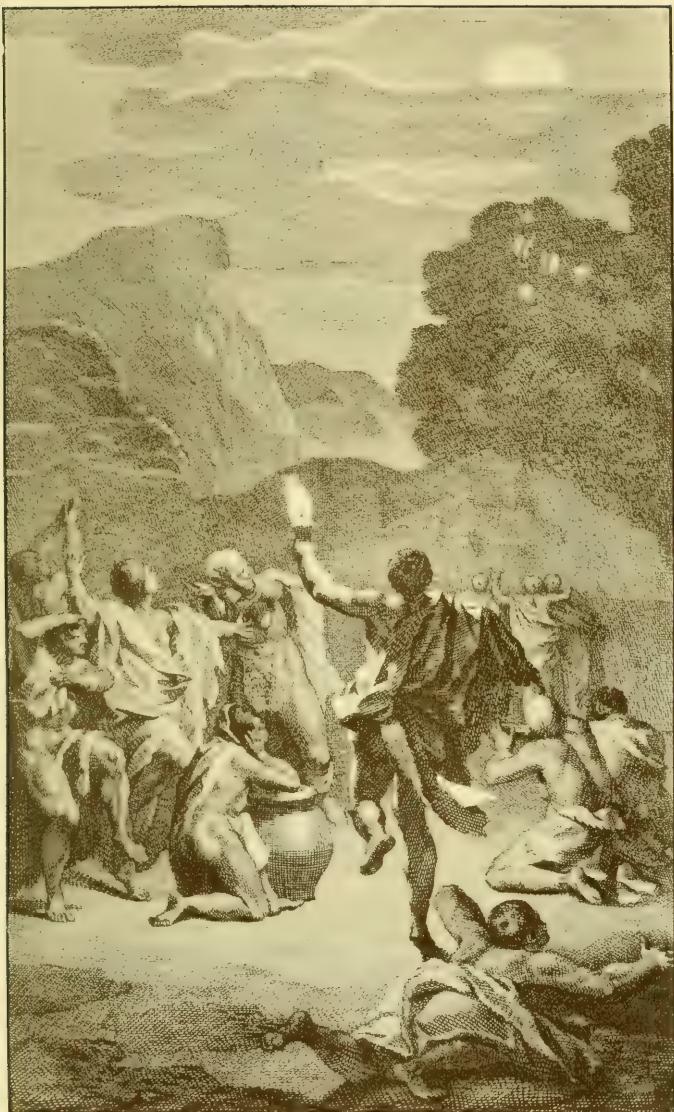
showed himself grieved at our necessities, abasing and justifying himself when he had nothing with which to relieve us, and coming with open satisfaction to inform us when their hunting had been successful, as one who always had our want before his eyes, and rejoiced more at having this provision for our advantage than for his own.

But in spite of his desires, and that he shared with us when he could, the Kaffirs have so little energy in hunting these animals that sometimes many days passed without their doing so, and as they have accustomed themselves (when this is wanting) to subsist upon certain roots and herbs, which from their nature and habits are sufficient to sustain them, we, being strangers and not knowing where to find these things, were reduced to such necessity that several died of pure hunger, some in the woods, others near the springs, and others in different paths and places whither they were driven by their extreme want.

Those who were still alive were so weak and weary in mind and body that the most their strength and charity could compass was to place the dead bodies in a shallow grave fenced with stakes, wherein we left them badly covered. This gave rise to another misfortune, not less than that of hunger, which was that as the place where we dwelt with the king was in the midst of a large and ancient thicket, where there were many tigers, lions, and other wild animals, these, becoming fierce in the first place by eating the flesh of those who were thus badly buried, became at last so bold that they entered the town at nightfall, in the

place where we dwelt, which was an isolated corner as I have said, and if they found any one outside the huts they killed him and sprang with their prey as lightly through the surrounding circle of trees, though they were high and closely set, as if they carried nothing. They made these attacks so carefully that they carried off five men before we were on our guard against them. And when they found that they could not seize us outside the huts, they grew bolder and came into them, and even when five or six were assembled it did not prevent them from wounding any who were within their reach, so that we were all obliged to go to the rescue, and save them from their clutches with great difficulty. By these attacks, which occurred often every night, five other men were badly wounded, and as now we had no arms (as has been said) with which to revenge ourselves upon them, our only resource was never to leave our huts till eight or nine in the day, and retire to them again at one. Even during that time, if any had to go to the wood or spring, or anywhere else, they waited till five or six were assembled for the same purpose, as they did not dare to go otherwise, for fear of the wild animals.

As by these precautions they missed the taste of our flesh, which they must have greatly relished, seeing how eagerly they sought it, they were furious for want of it, so that at night we could not hear ourselves speak for the roaring they made, and very often they attacked our doors with such blows and pushes as from their strength and ferocity may easily be conceived. When they found them firmly



HOTTENTOTS WORSHIPPING THE MOON

From Kolbe's "Beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop" (Amsterdam, 1727)

closed (of which we took good care) they would not go away, but remained there roaring and growling for a long time, during which we were not so secure but that our hearts misgave us lest they should bring down the hut and leave us exposed to their scant pity, for without doubt, if they had known how to do so, neither strength nor will would have been wanting.

As the Kaffirs at that time were more confident, and took less precautions for their own safety, these wild beasts, finding them an easier prey, began to treat them as they had treated us, so that within four months they carried off more than fifty, and many of them in the daytime and inside the town, because they were held in such fear that when a father saw his son carried off he dared not succour him except with cries (of which they took small notice), and even these from afar off. Thus meeting with no check whatever, these tigers came as securely into such a large town to carry off men as they might have hunted other prey in an uninhabited forest, and they grew so dainty that they only cared for the blood of those they killed, or a little of the flesh while it was untainted ; and so we often found the mutilated bodies cast aside, simply bitten, or at most with a leg or an arm missing. And while they made these attacks only one of them was killed, which, not being able to hunt during the night, remained among some shrubs in the town during the day, and being perceived, the Kaffirs ventured to attack it, and hurled their assegais at it. Feeling itself wounded, it attacked the Kaffir who was best within reach, and inflicted two severe wounds below his knees, besides

many others in different parts which were not so dangerous ; but the Kaffir, being a brave man, rolled a skin which he had round his arm, and seizing a stabbing weapon thrust at the wild beast intrepidly until he killed it.

To this persecution by the tigers was added another of lice, which, though it may appear a small thing, was such that some lost their lives by it ; for though we were almost naked, being clad only in rags through which our flesh appeared in many places, they multiplied upon us in such numbers that they were visibly devouring us without our being able to prevent it, although we scalded our clothes very carefully and rid ourselves of them three or four times a day ; but as they were a plague sent in punishment for our sins, everything appeared in vain, and it seemed that the more we endeavoured to exterminate them the more they increased, so that in a little while they were again so numerous that we scraped them off our things with a piece of wood to burn or bury them, which was the only means of killing such a number, but in spite of all this they made such sores on the head and shoulders of Duarte Tristão and of two or three other men that it was clearly the cause of their death.

As the people of all those parts, from the few troubles and anxieties of their lives, have no idea of fortune and its reverses, they did not understand that we were suffering its persecutions, but rather supposed that we had left our country of our own free will to rob that of others ; and this bad opinion which they had of us caused us to be so generally hated, that it

gave rise to another affliction not less considerable than those aforesaid. This was that when our necessity forced us to go about the town seeking bones, thorns, or some similar wretched trifle which we might pick up in the paths and which might afford us some relief, either because of their evil suspicion aforesaid, or because they wished to make that action an excuse for their brutality, we were immediately stripped and beaten, and if we complained of this to the king, they declared that we were found robbing their houses, and witnesses to this never failed them, so that they were never weary of ill-treating us, nor were we known by any name but that of the thieves, and they were all so unchecked in their persecution of us that at last our lives were not safe from them if we left our huts, and our necessity would not suffer us to remain within.

And as our sins merited from our Lord still greater punishments than the misfortunes and hardships which I have related, another was added to these, full of greater fear and misery. This was that we did not yet know the language of the country, and we had no other to transact our business with the king and his subjects, who in their extreme unreasonableness often wished to speak to us, than the interpreter Jasper, whom we brought with us, and he, trading upon our necessity, gave himself up to the devil and covetousness, so that he wished to be absolute lord over us all, and he persevered in his intention. Seeing that the king was his friend, he openly informed us that we only lived because he willed it, since he persuaded the king not to divide us among his other villages, as he had

arranged, where we knew that we should immediately be stripped and killed, as was done to those of Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda's company, and therefore whoever wished to live must bribe him, or he would not intercede for him; in fear of which each one exerted himself to the utmost, giving him whatever he had or could procure, and even this he accepted grudgingly, as if he were doing us a great favour in taking it, saying that we bought our safety cheaply, which was in his hands. Delighted with these bribes, or rather lives, which he thus took from us, his covetousness grew more ferocious towards us than that of the tigers, so that all other evils seemed small to us compared with the haughty and unreasonable demands we endured from him.

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Our mode of life at this time was for each one to choose the Kaffir in the village where he was who appeared to him best disposed, and to carry him such wood and water as he required, in return for his protection against those who would have ill-treated us; for holding the aforesaid opinion of us, our necessity did not prevent them considering us disorderly, too numerous, and too importunate, and of the least thing, however trifling, they made an excuse for showing their ill-will. At supper time, which is their principal meal, we went and sat at the doors of those we called our masters, and they shared with us what they would or could. As this was so little that it could not suffice, the time which remained from obligatory service was spent by all in seeking food in the thickets, not sparing

the snake, or the lizard, or any other reptile, however noxious or poisonous. Our Lord was pleased that of all those who ate poisons only one sailor was found dead in the morning, from a fish upon which he had supped, against which the Kaffirs warned him, but want being more powerful than fear, he would not listen to them, and this was the cause of his death.

While we were in these villages each one met with many particular miseries and disasters which I pass over in order to keep to the general narrative. Those to whom our Lord gave health could always find some means of subsistence, although with labour, but those who fell ill and lost this poor and limited maintenance, which they earned with their hands and the assistance of their comrades, grew weak and helpless with want before they finally expired. The worst of all was that the Kaffirs had such a horror of our thinness, filth, and misery, that if the illness was likely to be prolonged, they cut short the lives of the sufferers by different modes of death, as they did to the ship's chaplain, who was dragged through a wood till he died, to a servant of Fernão d'Alvares Cabral, who was thrown into the sea alive, and to others whom they thrust out of the world by these and other tortures. Thus it was necessary for us, when we perceived that such was their intention, to carry the sick into a thicket, and there, hidden among the shrubs, to relieve them as best we could, until rains, cold, and heat, according to the season, together with their own necessity, put a painful end to these hardships.

In this way and amid such want and suffering,

some dying and the rest expecting the same fate daily, we spent five months, at the end of which time, because of heavy thunderstorms which destroyed all the fruit there was, we had nothing to put into our mouths, nor from the intense cold and our want of covering did we dare to leave our huts, so that we had been for many days (such of us as were left alive) in the last extremity of want. But as our Lord does not forget to succour those He pleases in the direst straits, wherever they may be, when we were least hopeful of relief, His mercy aided us. Thus it was that I, whose fate it was to live in a village which is at the end of the island, upon the mouth where the ships enter, one day, being the 3rd of November, little thinking of such good fortune, was in a hut pondering upon the end of my life which I hoped was near, five of my companions there being already dead, and I and the two who remained might count ourselves as such, considering the extremity in which we were, a Kaffir came to me and said that the ship was coming, and though the king had often spoken of its coming we never believed a word of it, thinking that he said this to encourage us, and not because it was a fact, persevering, because of the mistake on the chart, in thinking that the river to which the ship came was eighteen leagues farther on, as I have said. When I heard this from the Kaffir (necessity having already taught me his language) I bade him be gone, saying I did not believe it, and he having repeated it many times, I went out and followed him to a headland from which a great expanse of sea was visible, and thence I saw a ship about a league from the place where I was,

in the entrance of the bay. What effect this had upon me I can leave to the imagination of those who will consider what I had gone through, the misery in which I was then living, and how I now saw myself thus succoured unexpectedly by the high goodness of our Lord ; therefore I will say no more about it. After I had put some tests upon myself, and assured myself that what I saw was the truth and no dream, as I at first conceived, I fell upon my knees and rendered due thanks for such a mercy.

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There were assembled only twenty Portuguese and three slaves of the three hundred and twenty-two souls who set out from the spot where the ship ran ashore. All the rest remained upon the road and in the places where we halted, meeting with different deaths and disasters, some from fatigue, some in inhabited parts, some in the desert, as it pleased our Lord. Among them . . . Jasper, the interpreter, for our Lord was not pleased, since he caused the death of so many by depriving them of what they had acquired with such labour for their subsistence, that he should reach a Christian land and enjoy such ill-gotten gains ; and certainly there are not wanting some who say that if he had not amassed two or three thousand cruzados, as aforesaid, he would be alive still. Those who remained with him say that, being very stout and in good condition, he disappeared from the town one night, and being absent two or three days, the king ordered a diligent search to be made in every direction, but he was never heard of again, so that whether he fell a

victim to some tiger as thirsty after human blood as he was for ours, or whether (which is more likely) his death was due to the profit some one hoped to reap by it, he came to the end and punishment which his deeds deserved.

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And thus with these mishaps and labours our Lord was pleased that we should reach Mozambique on the 2nd of April 1555.

As soon as we had disembarked we went all together to pray in the church of the Holy Spirit, where, at our request, there came also the vicar with the priests and all the people of the fortress. Thence we went in solemn pilgrimage and procession to our Lady of Succour (Baluarte), and sleeping there that night, the next day we ordered the Mass we had promised to be sung, causing other holy sacrifices to be also celebrated at the same time, in praise and thanks to our Lord for His immense mercy in choosing us from among so many to bring us to His holy house a year from the time when we set out from the place where we were wrecked, and after traversing so much of the strange, sterile, and almost unknown coast of Ethiopia, passing with so few, weak, and ill-equipped persons through many barbarous nations united in their desire to destroy us, and enduring such strife, hunger, cold, heat, and thirst in the mountains, valleys, and marshes; in fine, everything which can be imagined as hostile, fearful, laborious, sad, perilous, great, evil, unfortunate, shadowing death, and cruel, where so many men, young, strong and robust, ended their days, leaving their bones unburied in the

plains, and their flesh buried in animals and strange birds, and by their death plunging so many parents, brethren, relations, wives, and children in this kingdom into mourning. May it please our Lord, by whose high bounty we escaped these things, to take what we have endured as penance for our sins, and to enlighten us by His grace, that henceforward we may so live that after such days of life as He shall please, we may deserve that He give our souls a share in His glory.

DIOGO DO COUTO

[The story of the great expedition of Francisco Barreto serves at once to illustrate the greatness and the misfortunes of the Portuguese. Ever since the discovery of the Cape route there had been rumours of rich gold mines in south-eastern Africa, from which it was supposed the Queen of Sheba took her wealth. In 1569 King Sebastian sent a strong expedition under one of his greatest generals, Francisco Barreto, to take the gold territory. The story of the expedition, which penetrated several hundred miles up the malarial Zambezi, is admirably told by the soldier historian, Diogo do Couto, who was, as we now say, an anti-clerical, and blamed the Jesuits for the misfortunes of Barreto and his army. (See *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. vi.)]

I

OF WHAT BEFELL THE GENERAL FRANCISCO BARRETO IN THE CONQUEST, AND THE ORDER HE OBSERVED IN JOURNEYING INTO THE INTERIOR

WE left the governor Francisco Barreto in Cuama, with all his army and equipment. He proceeded up the river to the fort of S. Marçal, or Sena, and took up his quarters in a village called Inhaparapalla, the resort of all the Portuguese merchants who frequent that place, where a dwelling had been already prepared for the governor, and also a church and many houses for the men, all built with reeds. A gun-shot from this

village was another inhabited by Moors, who were our friends, and who had a sheik to govern them. Through intercourse with the Portuguese, with whom they were brought up, they spoke and understood our language, and wrote with our characters.

The village in which Francisco Barreto had taken up his quarters was on the bank of the river, and all drank the water from it, which was very muddy and turbid, and could not be drunk unless it was left to settle for a day. Many large vessels were required for this purpose, and as they had none except a few gourds holding three or four quarts, from this cause some of the men fell ill. The governor, wishing to provide a remedy, commanded a well to be sunk in front of his house, and he himself, with all the noblemen and principal men, assisted in the work, and carried the stone to line the well. When it was already so deep that it reached the water, one of the principal men among the Moors, named Manhoesa, came to them, and calling the governor aside, told him in secret not to trust to the water, and to cause the well to be immediately filled up, as poison was going to be thrown into it, that he and all the others might be killed. The governor allowed the work to go on for a day or two, and then gave orders for the well to be immediately filled up, saying that the water was even worse than the running water of the river.

As the Moors will never be friends with the Christians, as soon as they learned that the governor's object was to discover the mines, by which they would lose their commerce, they had resolved to kill our men little by

little with poison. For this purpose, when the governor arrived, they showed themselves very affable and kind, and frequently entertained our men, and at the banquets they put poison in the food, which took effect after a long time. On Christmas Eve they invited many of the nobles and chief men to a light supper, for which they prepared many sweetmeats, and among other things some excellent marmalade, into which they put a quantity of poison, knowing our men to be very fond of it.

Before this time several horses had died of poison, without our men discovering the cause of their death, but seeing that many died, an order was given for some of them to be cut open, and it was found that their hearts and livers were eaten away and decayed. The governor on seeing this commanded all the grooms to be seized and put to torture, when they confessed that a Moorish priest had brought them the poison, which they were bribed to give to the horses.

Having done this, the governor sent secretly to summon certain captains with their companies, and commanded them with all secrecy and caution to surround the Moorish village, and to have all the light boats in readiness along the river bank. Upon hearing the drum beat they were to attack the village, and put all the Moors to the sword, and the light boats were to seize those who should try to escape. This was carried out most successfully, and they killed all whom they came across, and took the principal men prisoners. Some of the boats passed to another part of the river to attack a village belonging to a very rich Moor, who

had forty Moorish servants and more than five hundred Kaffirs.

A soldier named Balthazar Marrecos, who is living at the present day at Goa, an honourable and rich man, was in one of the boats, and took with him another man who was well acquainted with the house of the said Moor, as he had been there frequently. He went up a creek which led to his door, and on landing he encountered the Moor whom they were in search of, with six others. The Moor, who knew him and had not yet received tidings of what had taken place, asked him what he was doing there, to which he replied that the governor had sent for him to hear some intelligence he had obtained concerning Mongas, and that he must get ready to go to him. The Moor told him that he was endeavouring to obtain three thousand miticals of gold, which the governor had asked him to lend for the purpose of paying the soldiers, nevertheless the soldier urged him so strongly to go with him that he accompanied him towards the boat. When near the river they noticed a large boat coming in search of him, with a captain and many noblemen. On seeing this the Moor seized a broadsword, and Balthazar Marrecos and his companions disarmed him and told him not to move. Finally they bound him, and placed him in the boat. On coming up to the large boat the captain asked him to surrender the Moor, which he refused to do, and told him to go to the village, where he would find a great deal to occupy him. This the captain did, and entering the village and houses of the Moor Mujugane, whom Balthazar Marrecos had taken with him, they

sacked the place, as the Moor was rich, and they obtained spoil to the value of two or three thousand cruzados.

Balthazar Marrecos delivered the Moor to the governor, who commanded him to be put into a prison where there were already others. And taking proceedings against them, he sentenced them to death, which sentence was at once carried into execution. They were first invited to become Christians, which they refused to do, and only one, named Mohamed Joanne, brother of Mohamed Sheik Rejao, a Moor very well known in Mozambique, sent to summon the Jesuit fathers on the morning of that day, and told them that in the night the blessed virgin, our lady, mother of God, had appeared to him and told him to become a Christian, and to take the name of Lourenço, for which reason in his heart he had determined to receive the waters of holy baptism, and that they must not think he was doing this that they might spare his life, as he knew well that he must die, and that he asked them to baptize him, which the fathers did, offering him great consolation. Afterwards he was conducted to execution with the others, as each day they were taken two by two and placed at the mouths of big guns, which blew them to pieces, to strike terror into others. Lourenço only, who had become a Christian, was hanged, and was accompanied by the crucifix. Many of them were put to death with other consummate tortures, and thus all suffered except Manhoesa, who had advised the governor to fill up the well as poison was to be put into it. He alone escaped, and the governor told him he was free to go wherever he pleased, but as he wished to remain

with him, the governor commanded that he should be provided for and well treated. . . .

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As it was now the beginning of summer, they immediately made ready for the expedition, and began settling the order of it. Having made all the preparations he thought necessary, the governor, with his whole army, proceeded up the river until he reached the lands of Mongas, who was the enemy he was seeking. As he had information that Mongas was awaiting him with a large force, he thought fit to leave all the sick on an island in the river, that his movements might be more free, and also part of the baggage, for which he had no use, and a few healthy men to guard the sick. As captain of these, he left there a nobleman named Ruy de Mello, who was wounded.

He took the field with all the remaining men formed into five companies, and addressed them in a few words, saying that they were well aware of his condition and of the small force with which he was about to attack the powerful king Mongas; that the expedition offered many dangers, and they would suffer much hunger, thirst, and hardship, but that these difficulties were made easier for him in seeing the pleasure and courage which they all showed in wishing to accompany and follow him; that he had left the sick behind on the island that they might not hinder the healthy, and that as he could not know of the private sicknesses and indispositions with which some of them might be afflicted, he begged that any one who did not find himself sufficiently strong and healthy to accompany

him would advise him thereof that he might leave him also on the island, where alarms from the enemy would not be wanting, and that it should be declared on that day, as on the next they would commence their march. But as the sick were already cared for, they all answered that they were in very good health, and able to follow him through all hardships.

Having taken these measures, the governor set out with his army on the afternoon of the next day, and marched until the sun went down, when he encamped. On the morning of the following day he reviewed the men who followed him, and found them to number five hundred and sixty soldiers with guns, among which number were one hundred musketeers, who received double pay, and twenty-three horsemen. He formed five companies with these men, and, mounted on a beautiful horse and armed with light arms, he rode into the midst of them and addressed them thus : ‘ My companions and valiant gentlemen, let us go forward and seek the enemy, as I am better pleased and feel more confidence in going with the few who accompany me so willingly, than if I had many more compelled to follow against their will.’

Thereupon he set out towards the interior, with guides who conducted them for nine or ten days along a route where water should have been found, but most of the wells were filled up, on which account they suffered greatly during this time from thirst and hunger. Their hardships were such that the only food they had every two days was beef of the few oxen they killed, which they roasted on wooden spits, and

many of them even kept a small portion for the next day. At the end of the tenth day, as our men were crossing the summit of some rising ground, the army of Mongas came in sight. It was so large that it was not possible to calculate the number of men, as they covered the hills and valleys.

The governor placed his men in order, giving the vanguard to Vasco Fernandes Homem, who was acting as colonel, and he took the rearguard himself, placing the baggage in the middle of the army, with several fieldpieces. When the Kaffirs appeared to be advancing like swarms of locusts, the colonel prepared to receive them, and sent word to the governor, who rode up to the vanguard on horseback, and seeing the multitude of Kaffirs he retired towards a beautiful mountain, which he caught sight of, where he took shelter with all his army, with their backs to it, so that they could not be attacked in the rear.

The Kaffirs, seeing the order in which our men were disposed, began to retreat, and the governor immediately sent some of the cavalry after them to reconnoitre the place where they were assembled. That afternoon the governor summoned the major, and told him to choose three soldiers from each of the squadrons of the companies, and having selected eighty, to hold them in readiness to advance to the corps de garde at nightfall, which he did with good order. As soon as night came on, the Kaffirs encamped within less than half a league of our army, and continued beating drums all night, with a great noise which could be heard by all our people. At the third watch the

governor despatched the major with the eighty picked men to attack the Kaffirs, and while he was setting out the noise and the drum ceased in their camp, and as soon as this occurred the governor sent a message in great haste to the major bidding him return, as he understood that while the drums were being beaten the Kaffirs were reposing, and that when the sound ceased, they were beginning to set out to attack our army. He therefore sent out spies to watch them, who informed him that they were approaching, upon which the governor gave order to beat to arms, and made ready to receive them.

Being thus in readiness he waited for dawn, and then sent out some of the cavalry to reconnoitre the country, but they could see nothing, and upon hearing this he gave the order to march, always sending the horsemen in advance. Marching through a level country, the cavalry discovered the enemy, and gave the alarm to the governor, who arranged the army in position to fight them, placing a squadron of two companies in the vanguard, a company on either flank, and the other in the rear, leaving the baggage in the centre. He commanded a swivel-gun to be placed in the rear, cannon and demi-cannon on the flanks, and three fieldpieces loaded with cast-iron balls in the vanguard.

The Kaffirs approached in a semi-circle, preceded by an aged woman, whom they looked upon as a great sorceress. When near our army, she took a small quantity of dust from a gourd which she carried, and threw it into the air, by which she had made Mongas

believe all our men would be blinded and fall into their hands. This they so firmly believed, that they had brought many ropes with which to bind them. The governor, seeing the old Kaffir woman making antics before them all, thought that she must be a sorceress, and commanded the gunner to fire the falcon at her, which he did, taking such good aim that the ball shattered the wretched creature, which seemed to stupefy the Kaffirs, as they believed her to be immortal. For this the governor took off a handsome gold chain which he wore, and put it round the gunner's neck. This did not prevent the Kaffirs from falling upon our men in savage disorder, with great cries and shouts, brandishing their swords and darts which they called pomberas.

Francisco Barreto gave the signal to commence the battle, calling upon the apostle St. James, upon which our arquebuses and muskets were discharged upon them, killing them as if they were a flock of crows ; and although they offered some resistance and wounded some of our men with their arrows and assegais, seeing the great slaughter our men were causing among them, they turned and fled. Our soldiers pursued and killed and cut them down at will until they heard the sound of the trumpet which recalled them, when they returned in good order. The governor sent out the cavalry to reconnoitre the country, but as they saw nothing they returned to report to the governor, who immediately commanded the army to march towards the town of Mongas, which was close by. Before approaching the town, they came to a dense wood,

through which the governor commanded the pioneers, of whom there were many, to clear a way, which was done with great despatch.

The governor was on horseback, resting on a lance, and watching the pioneers work, when about ten o'clock in the morning, on looking round, on every side he saw what seemed to be a thick fog, which he recognised as the dust caused by a multitude of people on the march. Upon this he commanded the artillery to be brought up with great haste, and placed his men in order, and with the trees which had been cut down he caused a lager to be formed with great speed. Before long a multitude of Kaffirs appeared extended in a semi-circle whose points enclosed the camp, and they came upon our men with great cries, and with nearly all their army in disorder. The governor got off his horse, as he did in all the engagements, to work in company with his men, and gave order that the artillery and guns should not be fired until the Kaffirs came near, which was done, nearly all their army being already in disorder, as I have said. Such numbers were killed by this volley, that the field was covered with the dead, and when the smoke cleared off the cavalry and the companies advanced and attacked the disordered multitude of Kaffirs. They were cut down until they retreated altogether, leaving more than six thousand dead on the battlefield, besides many others dying on the road.

The governor marched towards the town, which he knew had been already deserted, and gave order for it to be set on fire. It was entirely consumed, as it

was built of wood and straw. Then he commanded the fire to be extinguished, and took up his quarters there, as it was surrounded by a thick wood and had only one opening, which served as entrance. This he commanded to be filled up with large trees, and placed the artillery there to protect it. Here they attended to the wounded, who were more than sixty in number, of whom only two died. In this place they found water in abundance, of which they had much need, so they remained there five days.

At dawn on the sixth day the Kaffirs returned with a larger force, and attacked our men with great determination. A very fierce battle took place, which lasted until an hour after mid-day, in which our men caused great havoc among them, and the Kaffirs wounded some of our soldiers. Amongst these was Vasco Fernandes Homem, the colonel, who with great valour always fought in the vanguard. He was wounded by an arrow in the right shoulder, that passed through his sword-belt, which he wore crossways, and which was of three folds of buff similar to his leather jerkin. The arrow pierced him half a hand's breadth, so that for a long time he could not move his arm, and in this condition, with the arrow still in him, he commanded his soldiers until two o'clock, when the Kaffirs retreated in disorder.

When our men were preparing to encamp and to rest themselves, a Kaffir appeared with a white flag, and came with great confidence to our army. The governor sent a fifer to ask what he wanted, and he answered that his king wished for peace. The governor

then commanded him to be brought before him, and awaited his coming seated on a velvet-covered chair, with all the companies drawn up in order with their firelocks and their matches in readiness, the artillery placed in front, and the gunners with their linstocks in their hands.

The governor wore a strong coat of mail with sleeves, with a sword ornamented with silver slung crossways, and a page stood near him with a shield of shining steel. When the Kaffir was brought before him he was so overcome with amazement that he could not speak or answer any of the questions put to him, but trembled from head to foot. The governor commanded some sweetmeats and a cup of wine to be given to him, after which he recovered himself a little, and said that his king, Mongas, sent to ask for peace, and was very anxious to be friends with him. To which the governor caused a reply to be made to him that he was travelling onward, and that within two or three days he could send to treat of what he desired. With this the Kaffir took leave.

Our cavalry followed him to reconnoitre the country, but discovered nothing. They rested that night, and at dawn the next day the army set out, and continued marching until close on nightfall, when they encamped in a very convenient place, where there was an abundance of water. Shortly afterwards two Kaffirs approached and informed the governor that Mongas sent to ask for leave to treat of peace, and that if he was in need of provisions he would supply him with them. The governor sent him word that peace would

be established in due time, and that he had provisions in abundance.

While they were thus conversing, a camel broke loose and came running towards the governor's tent, pursued by the man who had charge of it, who endeavoured to put a halter upon it. The camel stopped and commenced to snort and raise his neck, which was very long, and to extend his nostrils. Mongas' Kaffirs, upon seeing this huge animal, as there were no camels in Kaffraria, were so alarmed that they took refuge in the governor's tent, and throwing themselves on the ground they gazed at it from under the tent with amazement. The governor rose, and, going towards the camel, which waited for him very tamely, he commanded a halter to be put upon it, and returning to his seat he sent to summon the Kaffirs, who came as if stupefied, and asked the interpreter what animal it was. The governor told him to say that he had a great number of these animals, that they only ate human flesh, and that this one had come to ask him, on the part of the others, on no account to make peace with Mongas, as they would then have nothing to eat, and that all the Kaffirs who were killed by our men in the past battles had been eaten by these animals, which were waiting to eat all the others. The Kaffirs beat their hands together two or three times, which is their manner of showing great amazement, and begged the governor to ask these animals not to eat any more of Mongas' people, as they would bring them many cows for their maintenance. This was a gift from heaven to our men, as they were already

without provisions for their sustenance. The governor replied that he would beg the animals to maintain themselves and be content only with cows, and not eat any more of Mongas' men ; and with this he took leave of them, saying that he was going towards the town of their king, where he would see them. The Kaffirs sprang away in amazement, and went to Mongas and related everything to him, and he was no less astounded than they were.

The governor continued his march with great scarcity of provisions, as they had only a few cows, with which they barely sustained themselves. Seeing himself in such straits, the governor, by every one's advice, turned back towards the river, and in three days, suffering great want, they reached the lands of a chief called Rombo, whose dominions extended from Lapata to the fort of Tete. There they encamped on the bank of the river, where they remained nine or ten days, suffering terribly from starvation. Their necessity was such that they went into the woods to find herbs, which they boiled with salt and ate. The governor wished to send a message to Ruy de Mello, who had remained at the island with the men and baggage, but there was no boat for the purpose. However some Kaffirs brought a small boat, only large enough to hold the negro that rowed it, by whom the governor forwarded a letter to Ruy de Mello, directing him to send immediately all the boats he had, laden with provisions. This he did at once, sending six large boats laden with provisions, millet and other grain, which was received by our men with great rejoicing. . . .



It being time for the governor to set out for Sena, he despatched two small vessels laden with provisions brought from the coast of Melinde, and afterwards set sail with all the vessels that he had, leaving as captain Lourenço Godinho factor and chief alcaide of the fortress. In a few days he reached the bar of Quilimane, and proceeded up the river to the fortress of Sena, where he was very well received by all.

While he was settling many matters, seven or eight days after his arrival, Father Francisco Monclaros went to him and begged him publicly, in the name of God and of the king, to abandon the conquest, in which the king had been deceived, and said that he would have to render a strict account to God of all the men who had died and who should die in the expedition. The governor very angrily told him to leave him, which he did without delay, and throwing himself on a couch with his face to the wall, the governor began to sigh and moan in the most agonising manner, and continued in this state all night, without sleep or rest. On the morning of the next day he sent to summon his confessor, Father Stephen (Estevão) Lopes, Father Francisco's colleague, and confessed himself very slowly. He dressed himself with great fatigue, then leaning on a stick he went to the hermitage, where he heard mass, and received the holy communion with great devotion, and then returned to his house and went to bed without any signs of fever or of a chill, or of any sickness whatever, except that he breathed heavily and sighed, and tossed about restlessly, and took nothing all day but some chicken broth. As soon as night came on, he

again called his confessor, who came accompanied by Father Francisco, and remained with him until ten o'clock. By this time his legs were very cold from the knees downwards, and although they applied many hot towels and rubbed him, nothing had any effect, as it was the coldness of death. The fathers, seeing that he was dying, remained all night in an out-house, and about midnight he sent away the servants who were kneeling round the bed, as he wished to rest, and turned his face to the wall. Nearly an hour later he gave a deep groan, which brought them all to him, and his confessor placed the lamp in his hand, but all was over. He was greatly mourned by his people, who in him lost their support.

II

OF WHAT BEFELL DONA JOANNA DE MENDOÇA AND OTHERS
AFTER THE WRECK OF THE SHIP *Saint Thomas*

[This beautiful story of the wreck of the ship *Saint Thomas* was told at the request of Dona Anna de Lima by Diogo do Couto, the historian, who was himself one of the survivors of the shipwreck. The wreck took place in the month of March 1589, in the latitude of $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S. It was on the coast of what was called the Land of Fumos, because of the fires lit by the natives, somewhere between Port Natal and Delagoa Bay. (See *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. II.)]

THE boat being in proper condition, it went to the stern of the ship to take from the gallery the women, the members of religious orders, and the noblemen who were there, and as the ship was pitching so heavily that they were afraid it might swamp the boat, it was

kept at a little distance. Orders were then given that with pieces of muslin the women should be lowered into the boat, which succeeded in taking them in, after many immersions, with great trouble, misery, and pain to all.

On the ship this duty, as well as all other responsibilities, fell upon Bernard de Carvalho, because Dom Paul de Lima, being a good Christian and fearing God, imagined that this disaster was caused by his sins, by which idea he was so cast down that he did not seem the same man who, in the midst of the many risks and perils in which he had found himself, had never lost a particle of that strength and courage which now completely failed him.

In the manner aforesaid were embarked the wife of the said Dom Paul, Dona Mariana, wife of Guterre de Monroy, and Dona Joanna de Mendoça, widow of Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo, who was going to Portugal to enter a convent, being disenchanted with the world, though still young and able to enjoy it. She was a very virtuous lady, who gave to all an admirable example during the whole of this voyage, as we shall relate in its place. She had with her a daughter not two years old, whom she held in her arms, and with her eyes raised to heaven asked mercy of God. To lower her into the boat, it was necessary to force the child from her arms, and deliver it to the nurse. After these, there embarked the Fathers, and Bernard de Carvalho, and last of all the master and the boatswain, who procured some kegs of biscuit and water, and threw them into the boat, which, being now full, put off.

Dona Joanna de Mendoça, seeing that her daughter remained in the ship in the arms of her nurse, who held her up to view with loud lamentations and grief, displayed such sorrow and made such heartrending exclamations that all were moved to return to the ship and beg the child of the nurse. They bade her make it fast to a piece of muslin, and lower it to the boat, which she refused to do, saying that unless they took her in also she would not give up the child, nor could she be otherwise persuaded, though her mistress besought her with tears and entreaties which might have moved a tiger, had the child been in its clutches.

This caused some delay, and the woman being obstinate, and the ship plunging greatly, they were obliged to put off the boat that it might not be swamped, which they did with deep compassion for the sad mother, whose eyes were fixed upon her child with such affection as all are wont to show when they look upon those they dearly love. Seeing that she was forced to leave the child, though she would much rather have remained clasping her in her arms than have abandoned her to the cruel waves which seemed ready to engulf her, she turned her back upon the ship, and lifting her eyes to heaven offered to God her tender child in sacrifice, like another Isaac, begging His mercy for herself, knowing well that the child was innocent and that He would have her in safe keeping. Such a spectacle could not fail to cause deep sorrow to those who were in that state, when each has need of the compassion of others, if there were any free to feel for ills beyond their own.



In the morning the boat drew near to the ship, and the officers spoke to those on board, encouraging them to make rafts, and offering to wait and accompany them. Those in the ship replied with loud cries and wails, begging for mercy, in voices so heartfelt and pitiful as to inspire fear, which was rendered more awful and appalling because it was still in the early dawn. When it was full daylight several persons tried to reach the ship, to get guns and provisions, for which purpose three or four sailors swam to her. On getting on board they found the deck already under water, and the people mad with fear of the death awaiting them, and still upon the gallery of the stern they had a beautiful picture of our Lady, round which were all the slaves dishevelled, in piteous supplication, begging her mercy.

The nurse of Dona Joanna was standing before them all with the child, which she never put down, in her arms, whose tender age did not permit her to realise her danger, and even had she done so, in her innocence it would have troubled her little, for there is nothing which makes death so fearful as doubt of salvation. The sailors threw into the sea several barrels of water and biscuit, and one of wine, that were taken into the boat, which it was desired should approach the ship to lighten it of still more persons, as it was not fit for navigation. The sailors returned without Dona Joanna's child, because most of these men are inhuman and cruel by nature.

As the boat could not reach the ship to be lightened in this manner, it drew off, and the seamen were allowed

to throw more persons overboard. These were Diogo Fernandes, a good man, but very faint-hearted, who had just relinquished the post of factor of Ceylon; a soldier named Diogo de Seixas; Diogo Duarte, a merchant; and Diogo Lopes Bayao, who was for many years in Balagate, where Idal Shah gave him a salary of three thousand cruzados, he being a man of industry and invention, trading in horses at Goa for that place, and keeping him informed of everything. He was even suspected of being doubtful in the faith, for which reason he was sent to Portugal (of which we have given a long account in our tenth decade), for it was he who contrived the plot to bring Cufu Khan to the mainland, whom Idal Shah wished to have in his power, because the kingdom belonged to him, and on this occasion he succeeded through the craft of the said Diogo Lopes, and commanded his eyes to be put out. This man, when he was seized to be thrown overboard, entrusted to Father Nicolas a quantity of uncut stones, which he said were worth ten or twelve thousand cruzados, recommending him, if he were saved, to deliver them to his agents at Goa, if he went thither, or to his heirs, if God brought him to Portugal. Several slaves were thrown overboard with these men, and were at once swallowed by the cruel waves.

This abominable cruelty having been accomplished by the seamen, which God permitted, but caused them to pay dearly, all or most of them dying on shore in the wilderness in great misery, the boat began to row towards the land. Being at a distance from the ship, at ten o'clock in the morning they saw her give one

great plunge, and founder, disappearing under the water in sight of all like a flash of lightning. They were left astounded, as men in a dream, seeing the ship in which they had so lately been journeying, laden with riches and merchandise almost beyond estimation, swallowed by the waves and sunk under the waters, burying in the caves of the ocean everything belonging to those in her, and to others in India, acquired by such means as God knows, for which reason He often permits as little enjoyment from it as in this case.

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Running the boat ashore, they all landed with some biscuit they had with them, and prepared their guns and other arms in case of necessity. They passed that night among some sand-hills, where they lit their fires, keeping vigilant watch. This was on the 22nd of March, and the next day they set fire to the boat to get out the nails—which are much esteemed among the Kaffirs—to trade with, and they made calico wallets for the journey, and several water-bags from some skins which had been thrown into the boat by chance, to carry water for the road.

They then made a muster of those present, and found that they were ninety-eight persons, counting the women. . . .

On the 23rd of March they set out, the Franciscan Father Antonio going first with a crucifix as a standard. Two hammocks were made from the sails of the boat slung on oars, in which the women might travel, carried by the sailors and ship's boys, to whom Dom Paul promised a large sum of money. The wives of Dom

Paul and Guterre de Monroy wore white tunies, trousers reaching to the ground, and red caps, but Dona Joanna de Mendoça was dressed in the habit of St. Francis, because it was her intention to enter as a sister into one of the convents of St. Clare, and she wished to put on her habit, that if she died on the journey she might be so clothed, and her desire might be in part fulfilled. And afterwards she accomplished this, for though there was no convent of St. Clare in India which she could enter, she retired to our Lady of the Cape, in her habit which she never again took off, and built a little house or cell into which she withdrew, to be near the Franciscan Fathers, who there led holy lives, and herself no less so. Here she lives in such retirement, abstinence, and contemplation, that no cloister could be better, and her life and example are a consolation to this city of Goa.

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Our castaways, having set forth upon their journey as already stated, travelled along the shore very slowly, on account of the women, eating a little of the biscuit they had with them, and drinking a little water from the skins, for most of it had leaked through the seams. In this way, with frequent stoppages, they travelled until night, when they halted among some sand-hills where they took shelter, seeking, as they did all through the journey, a separate place for the women; and made their fires and slept upon the hard sand, having no covering but the sky. The next day they resumed their journey, being already without food or water, and they caught some crabs upon the shore, which they

roasted and ate. The women were already overcome with fatigue, above all the disconsolate Dona Joanna de Mendoça, for the two others were assisted, one by her husband and the other by her father, who aided and consoled them as well as they could; and this lady alone was unprotected and sorrowful, for there was not among all those people a single one bound to her by any tie, who could assist her in this necessity.

But God our Lord turned His eyes upon her who had given Him her heart, and moved Bernard de Carvalho, a virtuous nobleman, to take compassion upon her. He, seeing her weary and alone, drew near and gave his hand to assist her, with all the respect due to a woman dead to the things of this earth, who on the very day she set foot on land put on the habit of St. Francis, and cut off her beautiful hair, sacrificing it to God, and leaving it in those parts to be scattered by the winds. Thus during the whole of the journey, as long as it lasted, she showed such an example that all were lost in admiration. And the aforesaid nobleman served her with such love and respect, seeing her mortification, that forgetting his own hardships he thought only of her, so that no father or brother could have done more.

Thus they went on their way with great suffering to the women, whose feet were already blistered and wounded, which forced them to go so slowly that on the third day some wished to push forward, that they might not risk their lives by such delay, in want of everything, with nothing to eat but crabs, fruit from

the thickets, and a few trifling things which they obtained in trade with the Kaffirs.

* * * * *

Bernard de Carvalho . . . was very ill with fever; and as all remedies were wanting, and he had nothing but a gruel of ameixoeira and the hard ground to lie upon, nature grew weary, and delivered him into the hands of death. In that hour he proved himself a very good Christian, by the great patience with which he endured it, for the love of God, and by the great contrition he showed for his sins. His death was deeply felt and bewailed by all, for he was a very amiable nobleman, of rare qualities and parts, and in all their hardships took the heaviest share upon himself, assisting all in their necessities at all times, especially Dona Joanna de Mendoça; for, as we have said, seeing her alone, he drew near and accompanied her, and served her throughout the journey with such respect, honour, and virtue, that all were struck with admiration. Especially was this the case while they were on the island, for he went to the thicket to get wood for her, carrying it on his shoulders, and to the spring to get water. When they obtained a hen in trade, he it was who killed, plucked, and cooked it, after which it was eaten by Gregory Botelho, his daughter Dona Mariana, and Dona Joanna de Mendoça, the smallest portion always remaining for himself, and even of this he would keep a piece for Dona Joanna at night, or for the next day. According to the account of the rest of the company he died of sheer hardship. And what is most to be lamented is, that his death was as miserable as

it could be, for he was covered with vermin, bred upon his body by the dampness of the soil and the sweat of his labours. He was buried at the foot of a cross which our people had erected there. Naked they laid him in the naked earth, amid the pitying lamentations of all, especially of Dona Joanna de Mendoça, who felt it as if he had been her own father, because of all she owed to him, and the loss he would be to her in her necessities. She remained disconsolate, with none to condole with her except Gregory Botelho and his daughter, Dona Mariana, with whom she lodged for the sake of propriety.

* * * * * *

Certainly this alone would justify the reply which the philosopher made to one who asked : What is death ? when he made answer : Death is an eternal dream, the dread of the rich, the separation of friends, an uncertain pilgrimage, a robber of men, an end to those who live, and a beginning to those who die.

* * * * * *

As for Dom Paul de Lima . . . he yielded his soul to God our Lord on the 2nd of August, the day on which the Franciscan friars keep the feast of our Lady of the Small Portion, for which there is a plenary indulgence. For this feast this nobleman had a great devotion ; and from the signs he showed of being a good Christian and a contrite penitent, with an example of great patience, it is to be presumed that his soul ascended to enjoy in glory that jubilee which there endures as long as God Himself, which is for ever. . . .

At the foot of two trees on the bank of the river they made him a grave, in which they laid him with no other shroud than the poor soiled shirt and drawers in which he escaped from the ship; with no other funeral pomp than the tears of his companions, which were abundant; with no other escutcheon than the dry branches of those trees, nor other gravestone and marble monument than the sands which covered him like another Pompey on the shores of Egypt.

His wife Dona Brites remained some time in Kaffraria with the others who survived, enduring great misery and want. Afterwards, when they went to Mozambique, she caused her husband's bones to be dug up and took them with her to Goa, where she gave them burial in the church of St. Francis of that city, in the small chapel of the seraphic father, which is on the right hand as one enters the principal door. They are buried in the wall, with a copper tablet with his epitaph as follows : *Canatale, Dabul, and Jor.* Here lies Dom Paul de Lima, who died of hardships in Kaffraria in the year 1589.

Of all the notable acts of this lady, I cannot fail to praise this deed of bringing her husband's bones through Kaffraria until the ship was reached, which was heroic, and makes her worthy of being exalted. One other matter worthy of note I will not pass over, which is that of all the persons who were in this ship, I do not think one is alive to-day except the three women, herself, Dona Mariana the wife of Guterre de Monroy, and Dona Joanna de Mendoça, who is retired in a house in our Lady of the Cape, clothed in the habit

of St. Francis, a lady of great virtue, on whom the eyes of all in this city of Goa are fixed, because of the example she gives by her retirement and virtuous mode of life. Upon which I shall conclude this brief narrative, which God grant may be to His great praise and glory.

THE JESUIT FATHER MONCLARO

[The story of the expedition of Francisco Barreto was also told by the Jesuit Father Monclaro, who was attached to the expedition, and had evidently considerable influence. It is no doubt to his influence that Couto refers when he complains that Barreto was compelled by Jesuit influence to take the Zambesi route into the interior in order that the Jesuits might recover the reliques and revenge the death of one of their order. The Father tells how Barreto left his army at Sena on the Zambesi to go on important business to Mozambique, and how upon his return he found his army stricken to death by fever. (See *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. iii.)]

HOW THE GENERAL FRANCISCO BARRETO DIED AT SENA ON THE ZAMBESI, AND WAS BURIED IN THE CHAPEL OF SAINT MARÇAL

UPON reaching Sena we found some soldiers on the bank of the river, about fifty in all, with the four banners, but no captains or officers, and they themselves in such a state that they could hardly stand. Passing by the hospital we saw the sick seated in the huts, looking more like dead men than living beings, but rejoiced at our coming. They had the arquebuses on the ground, and one who was a little stronger than the rest fired them all, for the others were unable to do it. It is a strange thing that there was not one man in good health : a very different spectacle from what was

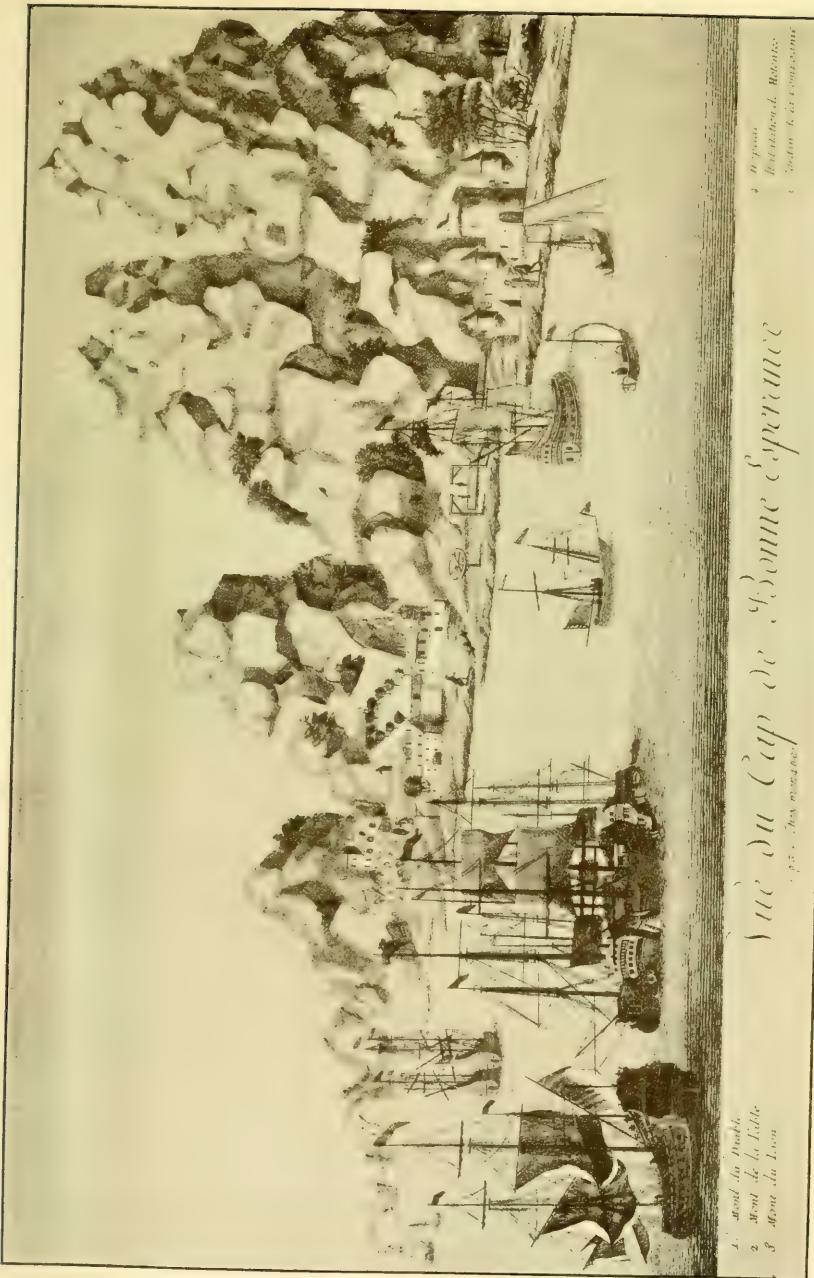
witnessed on the plain of Sena when we first arrived, and no one was able to restrain tears of sorrow for such mortality, as even of the eighty men who had come with the ships of the year fifteen hundred and seventy-two, and had joined the expedition, not five remained alive. The colonel came to the bank upon a horse with men to lead it, but had a seizure there, so that we took him for dead. The doctor was dying at the time of our arrival, and all were in such a state that it was evident everything was at an end.

After our arrival at Sena, Francisco Barreto began to provide for all necessities in person, giving out preserves, clothing, biscuit, and other things which we had brought, and visiting all without and within the hospital; thus some began to be convalescent. I grew better of an illness from which I had suffered on the journey, but the new comers fell sick directly, John da Silva being taken ill at once, with his servants and others who came with us. Francisco Barreto was seized with a fever after eating fish upon a Friday, eight days subsequent to our return. It was not so bad as to confine him to his bed, but as he was anxious, having never been ill before, he went to confession, and received the blessed sacrament in the chapel, still on his feet.

One night, seven days after he was first taken ill, he was seized with colic and deadly vomiting, but his people said it was only a kind of indisposition to which he had been subject in Portugal. I went to see him in the morning, and found his pulse imperceptible and dead, and his arms and feet cold. I gave him the

holy unction, he being still conscious, and sent for Vasco Fernandes Homem to come and see him before he died, for his decease was certain. He came and remained to assist him, though he himself was suffering from fever and ague nearly every day. Close upon midnight he yielded his soul to God, in a straw hut, and we could not find in his desk or elsewhere as much as a cruzado for his obsequies, or for the benefit of his soul.

The next morning we buried him in the chapel of St. Marçal, where, as the body of the building was full of fresh corpses so that there was no room for him, it was necessary to make him a grave crossways along the altar, even this being wanting at his death to a man who had been so prosperous, and who had lived in India with such display.



1. *Mout au dock*
2. *Mout de la Ville*
3. *Mout du Lion*

1. *Port au Paix*
2. *Port au Boeufs*
3. *Port au Poissons*

EARLY FRENCH VIEW OF TABLE BAY

From the Menetisschu Collection

FATHER JULIUS CAESAR CORDARA

[The Jesuit, Father Dom Gonçala da Silveira, who has been canonised by his church, was murdered at the bidding of the Monomotapa in 1561, a murder that is said to have been the indirect cause of Barreto's disaster. The place of his martyrdom has been fixed by Dr. Ricards as probably Zumbi, about 31° E. and 16° S., and some six hundred miles from the Zambesi mouth. In Father Julius Caesar Cordara's *Historia Societatis Jesu* (1625), there is given the story of a 'most credible eye-witness,' Father Alphonsus Leo de Barbudas, who it appears was driven on the shores of South-eastern Africa by shipwreck, and sailed up the Zambesi until, towards sunset, he reached a spot where an island divides the river into two channels. This, for the reasons given in the beautiful little narrative appended, he decided to be the resting-place of the mortal remains of the holy martyr.]

THE MIRACULOUS GRAVE OF FATHER GONÇALA DA SILVEIRA

THE following wonders have been related to me by a most credible eye-witness, to whose testimony I attach very great weight—Father Alphonsus Leo de Barbudas.

This father, after sailing from Mozambique to a point on the adjoining coast of Africa, called the Coast of Rivers, was thence driven by a storm to that part of Kaffraria which is occupied by the Opando and Nobunanguo, many leagues distant from the Cape of Good Hope.

A river of those parts, rising in the Mountains of the Moon, traverses Monomotapa, and falls into the Zambesi, the largest river in Kaffraria. Sailing once down this tributary he entered the Zambesi, and towards sunset reached a spot where an island divides the river into two channels. There he stopped, and, making his vessel fast to the bank, resolved to wait till morning, for fear of hidden rocks which abound in the river and make its navigation dangerous.

In the island was a wood thick with tall trees of various kinds. At one extremity of the island lay a beam of an iron colour, bearing perched upon it several birds of surpassing beauty. The body was a snowy white, with a streak of black along each wing, the beak and feet being a rich purple. The crest was lofty, consisting of five branches cruciform in shape. These birds were larger than Indian peacocks. Astonished at this sight as Father Barbudas was, he was still more so on hearing from the natives that the singing of those birds was even more wonderful than their beauty, but could be heard only towards dawn. In fact, as morning approached, he heard them sing in concert with exquisite melody and harmony, while with the flapping of their wings they modulated their notes. His wonder increased on learning that they always remained on the beam in the same numbers, so that when one set flew away another came to take their places, as though like soldiers they had to keep and relieve guard. He stopped to observe, and found all to be just as stated to him. Three of his Kaffir companions felt a desire to land, and to explore the island, but the fishermen warned them

that the attempt would prove their ruin, as every avenue was occupied by ferocious beasts that forbade all approach.

On Father Alphonsus inquiring into the origin of these wonders he was told : ‘We have heard, by common report, that long ago there came floating down this river the body of a white man, dressed in black, and tied to that beam. It was stopped by the island. Instantly crowds of beasts came out of the wood, undid the ties, drew the beam on shore, and the body into the wood. From that day forward the birds came to perch upon the beam, and the beasts to perambulate the shore, preventing so the sacred place from being intruded on. This happened in the time of our fathers, some sixty years ago, and old men still live who can testify to having seen it all. The common persuasion of the whole country is, that it is the body of some great man whom the very beasts have come to honour.’

An old man added that a neighbouring prince, desiring to know what was going on, had once caused great and stunning noises to be made on one side of the island, while, on the other, two nimble youths swam their way over to it, and ascended quickly a very lofty tree. Thence they descried lying in a small plain a human body resembling Father Barbudas in look and in dress, that of Portuguese priests. Around stood the beasts in reverential postures, and when some retired others came up and took their places in turns. The spies remained a whole day in the tree examining at leisure, and at night got safely down again by the same means as were used in the morning.

Now whose body was this? Father Alphonsus was convinced from all the circumstances that it could be no other than that of Father Gonzalez Sylveira, who had suffered death for the faith of Christ in Monomotapa, sixty years before. Gonzalez, too, while living, had declared, as is said more than once, that he should be put to death in the capital of that country, but that Christians should never get possession of his body. Father Alphonsus attested all this upon oath on his return to Lisbon, informed the king of the facts, and even offered to attempt recovering the body at any personal risk to himself. ‘I cannot say,’ adds Father Cordara, ‘why the offer was not taken up.’

Five eagles are reported to have fearlessly taken their place among the beasts in doing honour to his remains.

LUIZ COELHO DE BARBUDA

[Mozambique, the centre of the Portuguese Empire of East Africa, is a small coral island with a fortress at its northern point. This fortress was twice attacked by the Dutch in strength, the first time in 1607 by Van Caerden, and the second a year after by Pieter Willemzoon Verhoeff. The captain had a small and sickly garrison, and his fort was ill provided with armament ; but in both sieges he made a magnificent and successful defence. In the second, as this extract shows, he went through a fiery spiritual ordeal from which he emerged unscathed. The story is from the *Military Achievements of the Portuguese*, a book written in Spanish and published at Lisbon in 1624, the author being Luiz Coelho de Barbuda, a native of Lisbon. According to Dr. Theal his history ‘is regarded in Portugal as a work of high authority.’ (*Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vol. ii.)]

HOW DOM STEPHEN D'ATAIDE HELD THE FORTRESS OF MOZAMBIQUE

THE Dutch had regarded the easy conquest of Mozambique with such sure hopes that, before leaving Holland, General Van Caerden appointed (as was afterwards known) a commander of the fortress, being sure of its conquest : so much have the confidence and the impudence of the rebels increased, with the power of the impious princes who gave them favour and aid, with which they have not only tried to disturb the commerce of the Indies East and West, but also have

gone so far as to endeavour to hinder the evangelical preaching in those provinces, and to disseminate sects and novel doctrines of their heresiarchs. Van Caerden promised to hold the fortress until in the following August they should send him help with which they could defend themselves from the Portuguese fleet, which by this time should arrive there. For this reason the rebel states sent thirteen ships with more than two thousand men, under command of Peter William Verhoeff, who arrived at the island of St. Helena so early that he had to wait there until the monsoon from the west should allow him to pass the Cape of Good Hope.

He left this island at such a time that on the 25th of July the thirteen ships arrived at Mozambique : they hoisted at once a white flag on the admiral's ship, which was intended as a signal to ascertain if the fortress was theirs ; understanding it so Dom Stephen d'Ataide ordered one of another colour to be placed on the fortress, and at the same time directed a gun to be fired with ball, to show that with these they were waiting for them. With this Verhoeff also wished to try his fortune ; he crossed the bar, and disembarked in his boats with such diligence that the people of the town had not time to remove their property to the fortress ; a ship which had wintered there, and which was poorly provided, experienced the same rigour ; they seized her, but afterwards, in spite of the enemy, she was burned by our people, with a galleon in the Goa trade, which was there also.

The fortress was put in order for defence with all

possible speed, although with difficulty, on account of the great haste with which the Dutch landed : after the places of defence were assigned to those to whom they pertained, on distributing the gunpowder an inexperienced soldier dropped through negligence a (fuse) string in the greater part of it, through which he burnt some men : this mishap might have had worse consequences if it had not been checked with much promptitude by Dom Stephen d'Ataide, who to the great danger of his person subdued the fire which might have burned the fortress, or at least the storehouses.

The enemy stationed the main body of their army where the previous besiegers had been posted ; it was the monastery of St. Domingo. They approached with trenches from sea to sea towards the fortress, and at forty paces from it they erected two batteries of earth at a little distance from each other, and between them they opened a trench, with which they pressed on as far as the seashore, and with it they cut off the part of the island on which the fortress stands : they placed eight guns on the batteries, and the remainder of their artillery on the site of the monastery. They began to batter the fortress with great perseverance, so that on the second day of the firing persons could count more than three hundred discharges of artillery, with which they destroyed a great part of the section of the wall between the bastions St. Anthony and St. Gabriel, to which their artillery was directed ; and had made a large entrance to the fortress through which, if they had been Portuguese, no doubt they would have stormed : but as the Dutch are nothing more than

good artillerymen, and beyond this are of no account except to be burned as desperate heretics, they had not courage to rush through the ruin of the wall.

The battering ceased with the day, and the night having come our people repaired the breach with diligent care: they placed fires on the wall in order to see if the enemy should approach in the darkness of the night, as they had not dared to do in the day-time. As soon as it was morning, and the enemy saw the diligence with which our people had repaired the damage done, the combatants with which the walls were garrisoned, and the bravery with which they defended their posts, they slackened their fire, as if they had lost confidence in being able to enter the fortress. Our people wishing to avail themselves of the opportunity of their fear, twenty-five of them asked permission from Captain Dom Stephen to make a sortie upon the enemy like that of the preceding siege, although at a different hour; this being granted, they sallied from the fortress at midday with great silence, and as soon as they thought that they might be discovered they rushed suddenly on the first position of the Dutch, invoking St. Thiago, so that they forced all to abandon the first trenches and withdraw to the main guard, where their general was: they followed them closely until the recall was sounded from the fortress: the spirit was remarkable of one of the twenty-five named Moraria, who seeing three Hollanders at a distance from their batteries, between their intrenchments and the fortress, armed with pikes and wearing breastplates, shoulder pieces, and casques, attacked

them, and with a lance killed two in sight of all who were on the wall, and the other who climbed the intrenchment he also treated very badly. Those who were engaged in the sortie, seeing that the enemy was receiving succour, drew back, leaving thirty dead, and taking with them two flags, two boxes (of ammunition), fifteen muskets, breastplates, and pikes, all of which the enemy had left behind through sudden fear: the disorder and haste in which they left their posts was such, that if our people had carried the necessary tools they might have spiked the artillery.

The next day a soldier of the enemy came running to our people, and on arriving at the foot of the wall shouted, saying he was a Catholic; they threw ropes to him with which they pulled him up. He said he was a Frenchman, and, with much truthfulness, informed Dom Stephen of what was going on in the fleet, of their design, and how more than two hundred men had been killed; and that when they arrived they thought the fortress had been taken by the first fleet, as its general had promised in Holland, whose ill success they regretted very much, and that they were confident of being able to enter it: he also informed him of other matters which were convenient to know.

The same day the Dutch general sent to the Portuguese a trumpet with a letter, in which he said that by the beginning of that war it could be judged what the end of it would be: that he advised him to send in time some trustworthy persons who should treat for a favourable capitulation and agreement before they were all exposed to the fury of his soldiers. Dom

Stephen replied that he had nothing to do with any arrangement except that which should be determined by arms ; that he had already with them compelled Van Caerden to leave that island and hoped to do the same with him.

A short time afterwards four soldiers of the enemy passed over to our people, saying they were Catholics : General Dom Stephen received them under the belief that they were so : but the Dutch (commander) was so much annoyed that soon with great diligence he sent to demand them, threatening that if they were not surrendered he would kill the Portuguese prisoners that he had taken in the ship before our people had set fire to her. Dom Stephen replied that he would not deliver the soldiers to him, as they had claimed his protection as being Catholics. But the impious Dutchman ordered six Portuguese to be separated from those he had with him, and their hands being tied he ordered them to be shot in sight of the fortress.

The next day, which was the 17th of August of the year already mentioned, there appeared a galleon from Portugal which was on her way to India, and, trying to cross the bar, the enemy captured her after much resistance ; the number of her crew was one hundred and sixty persons, most of them ill, whom the Dutch general distributed among his ships, and told them to write to Captain Dom Stephen to give up the four who had gone over to him, and if that were not done he would put them all to death. They did so, writing a letter in which they represented that they were in the last extremity, having been con-

demned to die. Dom Stephen, after he had read the letter, felt great compassion for the prisoners : but seeing that surrendering the Dutch would be contrary to his fidelity, if he decided to give up those who said they were Catholics : he came to the conclusion to risk the lives of so many Portuguese in order to preserve the four Dutchmen who might have deceived him in what they said. With this answer the distressed prisoners were much alarmed, thinking that the rage of the Dutch general might fall on them : but taking no action to carry out the threatened vengeance, and satisfying himself with the menaces made, he raised the siege on the 19th of August, having first ordered the town and whatever there was on the island to be set on fire. And in the silence and darkness of the night he crossed the bar with the whole fleet. He left all the Portuguese that he had taken in the galleon and in the ship that our people had burned on the island St. George in front : and directed his course to India.

FRANCIS VAZ D'ALMADA

[The story here given is from a pamphlet dated Lisbon 1625, by Francisco Vaz d'Almada, called ‘An Account of the Misfortune that Befell the Ship *Saint John the Baptist*, and of the Journey of those who escaped from the place where she was wrecked on the coast of the Cape of Good Hope in Latitude 33°, to Sofala, the whole of which journey was performed by land.’ The pamphlet, like the other shipwreck stories given in the *Records*, is a recital of almost incredible sufferings and anguish which seem to reach beyond the limit of human endurance. The immediate cause of the wreck, which took place at the end of September 1622, was an attack by two Dutch ships. The battle lasted nine days, and although the enemy were beaten off, left the Portuguese ship shattered and helpless.]

WHAT BEFELL AFTER THE WRECK OF THE SHIP *Saint John the Baptist*

ABOUT the 21st of this month (November), on descending a very high mountain, we reached a river which we crossed in the space of two days. This was the first river that we crossed on rafts, and we called it the Musk River, because the captain ordered all the musk we had to be thrown into it, in order to lighten the burden of those who carried it. After two days’ journey over very high stony mountains, we reached a shore of loose stones, and a river which we crossed on a raft that we made. On the opposite bank we came upon some

Kaffir hunters, who sold us a little hippopotamus meat, which was a great relief to us. We called this stream the Shrimp River, because they sold us many there. Thence we journeyed over a mountain until we returned to the shore of loose stones, along which we travelled with great difficulty.

Here a most pitiful incident occurred, which time showed us to be a great cruelty. There was a young white girl in the company, daughter of an old Portuguese who died in the ship ; he was a rich man, and was taking his daughter to Portugal to become a nun. She was carried in a litter, but those who bore it for a sum of two thousand cruzados grew too weak, and as she had no one but her brother, a young boy, to impress upon the captain the cruelty of leaving a young and beautiful girl in the desert to the lions and tigers, such compassion was not shown as the case demanded, although the captain made some efforts, taking up the litter himself, in which he was imitated by all the nobles in the company, to see if their example would move any of the others to do so, promising them a much larger sum than had previously been offered. But, in spite of all, no one could be found to do it, nor were we really able, on account of the hunger we then endured. She travelled the next day on foot, supported by two men, but being extremely weak she could only walk very slowly. So we brought her along until she could not go a step farther, and began to weep and bewail herself that she was so unfortunate that for her sins, among so many people, where four litters were carried, there was no one to bear hers for any money,

though it was the lightest in the company, she being so thin and small, and uttered many other pitiful words with great sorrow. Then she asked for confession, and afterwards exclaimed aloud so that she might be heard : ‘ Father Bernard, I am so greatly consoled, for it cannot be but that God will have mercy on my soul, as since He is pleased that I should suffer such misery and hardships at so tender an age, allowing me to be abandoned in a desert to the lions and tigers with none to take compassion upon me, He will surely permit that all shall be for my salvation.’ Saying these words she threw herself upon the ground and covered herself with a mantle of black taffeta which she wore, and every now and then as the people passed by she uncovered her head and said : ‘ Ah ! cruel Portuguese, who have no compassion upon a young girl, a Portuguese like yourselves, and leave her to be the prey of animals ; our Lord bring you to your homes.’ I remained behind all the others, consoling her brother, who was with her, and begging him to go forward, which he refused to do, sending word to the captain that he would stay with his sister. The captain bade me not by any means to allow it, but to bring him with me, which I did, consoling him ; but his grief was such that a few days afterwards he was also left behind. See, sir, if this be not a grievous incident. For my part I can say that these and other similar spectacles caused me more sorrow than the hunger and hardships which I endured.

* * * * *

The men were growing weak, especially those who

carried the litters, and the provisions were finished, and now we were rested, therefore, as we gathered from what the Kaffir said that the country was well provided, we resolved to go on. Next day we went and slept near a swamp which had no frogs in it, at which we were much grieved. The famine which we now suffered was intolerable, and all the dogs in the camp that could be killed were eaten. They make very good food—not speaking of times of famine—for often when I had cow's flesh and there was a fat dog to be had, I chose the latter and left the beef, and so did many others. The men who carried the litters now refused to do so any longer, being unable, and when the captain tried to force some of them to do so, a sailor named Rezão fled to the Kaffirs in that place.

After journeying a few days we came to a river, and on the side in the direction of the Cape, upon a height, there was a kraal of fishermen, and we pitched our camp upon the other bank. They brought us for sale a kind of dough made of a seed finer than mustard, which grows on a herb that sticks to everything. It tasted very good to those who were able to get any of it. Here all the men who carried the litters assembled in a body, saying that if no one in the camp could take a step for want of food and all were half dead, what could be expected of them who carried the litters upon their shoulders ? that they might be ordered to be put to death, but they could carry them no farther, though they were offered all the treasures in the world ; and it seemed to them that they had done enough in carrying the litters for more than a month and a half up and

down mountains, and they were ready to forego all that had been promised them for their past labour. All this they urged with a loud outcry and tears. Then the religious intervened, saying to the captain that he had no right to force any one to undertake mortal labour, that one man had already fled to the Kaffirs, and all these poor men looked the picture of death. The captain then assembled all the people, and in a loud voice ordered a proclamation to be made that he would give eight thousand cruzados to any four men who would carry Lopo de Sousa on their shoulders, and the same for any of the women who were in the litters, and he would immediately pay the money into their hands, each according to his share. But no one came forward in answer to this proclamation.

In this place, for my sins, I witnessed the cruellest incidents and the most grievous sights which ever occurred or can be imagined. The women who were in the litters were asked if they would accompany us on foot, for anything else was impossible, and for their sakes we had come very slowly and were very backward in our journey, and many of our company had died of hunger, and there was no one willing to carry them for any money. Upon the advice of a religious, who was a theologian, it was decided not to wait for any one who could not walk, for our numbers were decreasing. Therefore those who had strength to walk were given until the next day to decide, and those who were to remain would be left with many others in the camp who were weak and ill in the kraal of fishermen opposite to us. Imagine what such a decision was to

Beatrice Alvares, who had with her four children, three of tender age ; to Dona Ursula, who had three little children, the eldest eleven years old, and her old mother, who would necessarily be left behind, her husband, Dona Ursula's father, being already dead ; to say nothing of Lopo de Sousa, that honourable and valiant nobleman, who had fought as such on board the ship, from which his wounds were still open, and he suffered from diarrhoea. This to me was the greatest grief and sorrow of all, for we were brought up together in Lisbon, and served in India at the same time.

All that night was spent in tears, lamentations, and taking leave of those who were to be left behind. It was the most pitiful sight ever witnessed, and whenever I think of it I cannot restrain my tears. The next day it was known that Beatrice Alvares would remain with two of her three boys and a girl two years old, a lovely little creature. We took her youngest son with us, though against her will, that a whole generation might not be left to perish there. There remained also Maria Colaça, mother of Dona Ursula, Lopo de Sousa, and three or four persons who were very weak and could not accompany us. They all confessed themselves with great sorrow and tears, so that it seemed a cruel thing that we could not remain with them rather than suffer such a parting.

On one side we saw Beatrice Alvares, a delicate and gently nurtured lady, with a little girl of two years on the breast of a Kaffir woman who remained with her, and would not consent to abandon her, a little son five years old, and another of seventeen. The latter showed

the utmost courage and love, behaving in the noblest manner possible in such a situation, for his mother told him many times that she was half dead, her old disease of the liver having made progress, so that she had not many days to live, even if she had been surrounded with every comfort; that his father had gone in one of those ships which had fought against us and was probably dead, and that he was young and ought to go with us. All the religious likewise surrounded and reasoned with him, saying that he risked not only his body but also his soul by remaining in a land of infidels, where he might be perverted by their evil customs and ceremonies. To these he replied with great courage, that God would have mercy on his soul, that he had always looked upon them as his friends but now thought differently, for what excuse could he give to men if he left his mother in the hands of barbarous Kaffirs?

On the other side was Dona Ursula, bidding farewell to her mother who was to remain, and the sorrowful words can be imagined which they spoke to each other, and the grief which it caused us. All took leave of Lopo de Sousa, and he, seeing that I had not done so, ordered his litter to be carried to the tent where I was, and he spoke these words aloud to me with great spirit : ‘ How now, Senhor Francis Vaz d’Almada, are you not that friend who was brought up with me at school, and were we not always together in India ? Have you nothing to say to me now ? ’ Think what my feelings must have been on seeing a nobleman, whose faithful servant I was, in such a state. I rose up and embraced him,

saying : ‘ I confess my weakness, your Worship ; I had no courage to see one whom I love so much in such straits,’ and I begged him to pardon me if I had offended him in this. He, whose eyes had hitherto been dry, could not restrain his tears at this, and he bade those who carried him go forward, and when I would have gone with him to the Kaffir kraal where he was to remain, he would not suffer it, and covering his face with his hands he said : ‘ Rest in peace, my friend, and remember my soul when God shall bring you to a land where that is possible.’ I confess that this was the greatest sorrow that I had hitherto endured.

* * * * *

Often in the camp at night I saw quantities of meat which had an excellent smell like pork, so that one day when my comrade Gregory de Vidanha relieved me on guard he told me to go and find out what our young men were roasting that smelt so savoury. I went and questioned one of them, and he asked me if I would like some, for it was very good and strengthening. But I, knowing that it was human flesh, went away, saying nothing to them. Thus it may be seen to what straits it pleased God to bring us all for my sins.

Two days after this, while we were still in the same place, the captain ordered a Portuguese youth who was servant to the boatswain to be hanged because he was detected bartering food with a piece of iron hoop which he had taken from the wallet of the under-pilot, and also because he had fled to the Kaffirs. He was a strong young man, who might have been of use to the company, and truly this excessive cruelty completed

our misery, for though it is necessary in governing seamen, it should not be carried to such excess. This poor wretch begged for burial, that he might not be eaten ; but his petition availed him little, for the captain gave the young men, who were weak with hunger, an opportunity by ordering him to be thrown into a thicket, and they were very careful to give him the usual burial of those who died.

JOSEPH DE CABREYRA

[This splendid shipwreck story is from a pamphlet (Lisbon, 1636, see *Records*, vol. viii.) on the ‘Wreck of the ship *Nossa Senhora de Belem* on the coast of Natal, Cape of Good Hope, and various adventures of Captain Joseph de Cabreyra, who sailed in her for India in the year 1633 as Admiral of the Fleet, until he reached this kingdom. Written by the said Joseph de Cabreyra.’ The whole pamphlet is given in the *Records of South-Eastern Africa*.]

JOSEPH DE CABREYRA BUILDS TWO SHIPS AFTER THE WRECK OF THE *Nossa Senhora de Belem* ON THE COAST OF NATAL

AFTER some rest I began to consider the situation of the land and the large trees, and resolved in my mind to build a vessel, seeing the convenience of the river, if God gave us life, and I kept this resolution to myself and told no one of it. With this end in view I took measures, little by little, to get ashore several bags of rice and barrels of biscuit, fish, and meat, which was done with difficulty and great danger, although the distance was short, because of the constant heavy seas, which sometimes prevented us going to the ship for three days. There were always some of the men on board, for there they had more to eat, but this was made up for by the continual fear they endured from

the sea breaking over the ship and her constant creaking, as she was only kept together by the strength of the beams, which alone prevented her from going to pieces, and the sea rose and fell in her as in a broken basket, so that at high tide everything below the decks was under water.

During the first days I went to the ship for his Majesty's despatches, which I was bringing to this kingdom, and then for the powder, balls, match, and other arms which I had placed in barrels as before mentioned. I accomplished this with great danger, for the sea overturned the boat, and no one would have ventured if I had not done so, calling on the strongest sailors for the purpose, that they might row better.

I had already landed all the precious stones, ambergris, musk, bezoar stones, and seed-pearl, which were in the hands of the officers, to whom I gave orders to take care of them until they could be registered. They were delivered at Angola by order of the governor and council of the treasury of that kingdom, as will be hereafter related in detail.

Thus we continued discharging things during the first days, which the weather only permitted on some mornings, and got together as much rice as possible, which amounted to six hundred and forty bags. We ate one directly, though it was wet, and dried the rest, making a storehouse in which we placed it, Father Jerome Lobo having charge of it to divide it, informing me of what was necessary.

* * * * *

On Saturday, the 20th of July, we went to a forest

where we blessed the trees in the name of our Lady of the Nativity, making a vow that if she brought us safely to any port on the other side of the Cape of Good Hope, we would sell the vessel and take the proceeds to this kingdom as alms for the nuns of St. Martha, where her statue is, and thereupon I gave the first stroke of the axe to a tree and the others finished cutting it down, beginning this work, in which all could not take part, as we had only three serviceable hatchets, one saw, and two carpenters, namely Manuel Fernandes, a very skilful workman, and the ship carpenter's boy, who hardly knew how to draw a line.

But with good courage and great confidence in our Lady we chose a piece of dry timber which had drifted ashore from the ship, and near the river in a convenient place apart from the camp we laid down the keel ; and when we had placed it on the blocks we all marched barefooted from the camp in procession, reciting the litanies of our Lady, and the chaplain blessed it, and we gave it the name *Nossa Senhora da Natividade*, performing this ceremony with tears and great devotion.

Then I set about removing the camp to the place where we were to build the vessels. There I ordered a house to be constructed for the forge, and took in sufficient space for the timber we were felling in the woods, making a shipyard like those of this kingdom. I cleared the site with great labour, cutting down and burning many trees, that there might be no cover between us in which the negroes could lie in ambush. I chose a site for my dwelling on a little hillock which

every one avoided, because several vipers had been seen there, the shipyard being in front and the river at the back. I accomplished this with the help of the slaves and the occasional assistance of a ship's boy.

As the most essential thing, a place for the celebration of divine worship was lacking, Father Jerome Lobo took upon himself the building of a church, for which he chose what he considered the best site. I gave him those of the sailors who showed the most devotion, and when sufficient timber had been felled he raised a very well-built church.

After this I ordered a house to be built, which we called the Bengaçal, an Indian word, in which we stored all the provisions and made it the guard-house, as it was in the centre of the camp, in which we placed all we had under lock and key, Father Jerome Lobo keeping the key and serving out the provisions. Then we divided into parties, each building their straw hut where they thought best, within the limits which I set them.

At the same time I ordered houses to be built in which to store the timber and keep it sheltered from the sun and rain. Having completed these arrangements, we remembered that we had no bellows for the forge, and without them it was impossible to continue the work we had begun. This did not fail to cause me some anxiety, but as nothing can daunt the industry of men in a case of necessity, especially when they are enlightened by God, who was our guide in this work, we contrived to construct a bellows with the bottom boards of an angelim wood chest, the leather of a hide from Scindia, and the barrels of two muskets which we

cut off. We made an anvil for hammering the iron from a davit which we fixed in the ground upside down, and it proved perfectly firm. We made the necessary blow-pipes, pincers, and small hammers, and for the large ones we used four sledge-hammers which we had brought from the ship.

As all this time the men worked as they pleased, for greater convenience and less confusion I divided them into parties. The carpenter chose four men to help him in building the vessels ; the boatswain's mate chose eight to fell and carry out the trees that the ship's carpenter selected for braces, floor timbers, fillings, and planks, which was all they were fit for ; others to drag them away, sometimes a great distance, and some to strip them that they might be lighter for carrying to the shipyard. Others sawed planks, for which we had made a frame, and others went in the Indian boat, for it was necessary to bring water every other day from a spring which we found in the middle of a river at the foot of a mountain, in the direction of the sea, without which we could not have survived, for the water which we had from a pond was very nauseous, because every kind of wild animal in the wood drank from it, and if we had continued to use it we should all have perished.

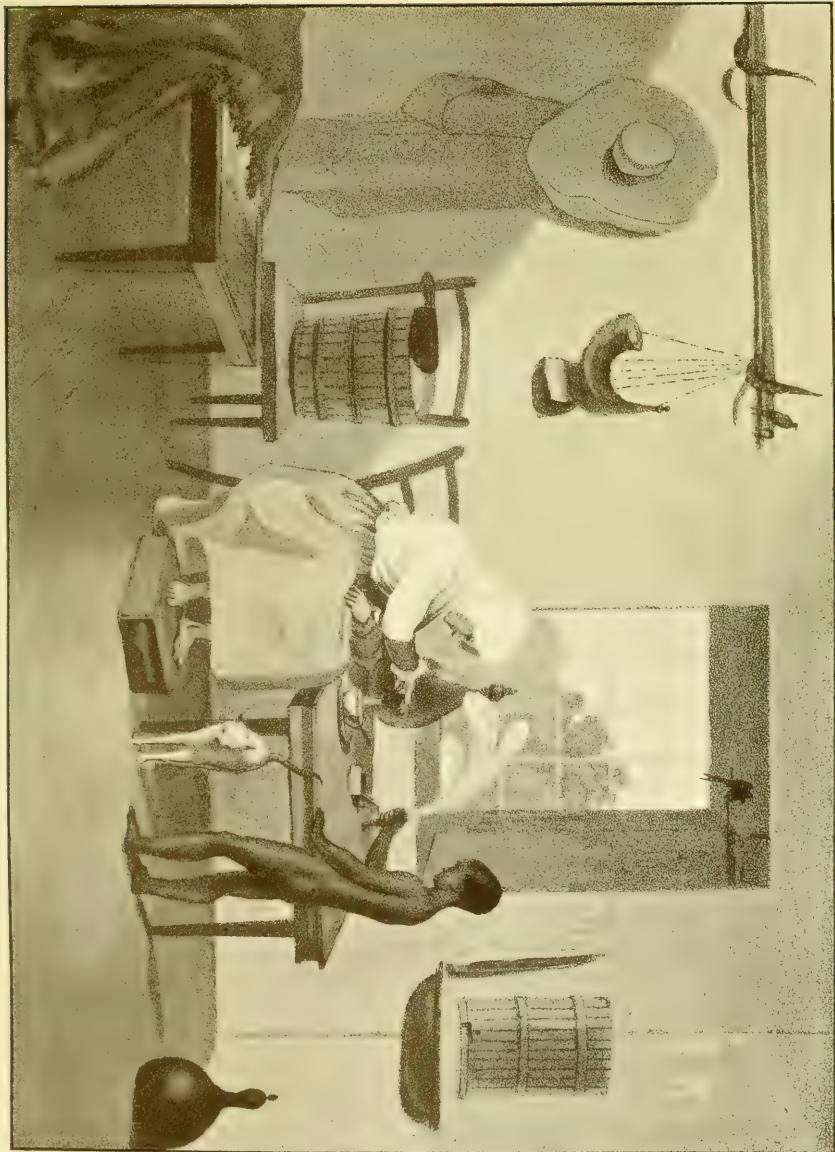
Those who were employed in one capacity were not obliged to attend to anything else ; those in the shipyard alone laboured diligently from dawn till very late, for they never lacked work. The master, the pilot, and Manuel Neto and Domingo Lopes, passengers who were also very good pilots, helped in the shipyard in lifting

and steadyng the timbers for working ; and others sometimes came and assisted out of curiosity. When I chose the site for this work it was covered with the footprints of sea-horses, buffaloes, and other wild beasts ; but with the continued presence of men it became as free from them as the square before the palace in this city. The tailors and shoemakers of the company, who were fit for nothing else, I kept solely occupied in making clothes and sandals from the skins covering the bales, to protect us from the cold of the climate and the rugged ground.

* * * * *

At the beginning of August, as the site near the river was the best and most convenient, I removed the camp from its old position ; and in order to provide as well as possible for the building of the vessels I brought ashore a barrel of tallow, half a barrel of tar, some pieces of cable, a cauldron for boiling pitch, nineteen cakes of benzoin, some thread, several pieces of dimity, and some unfinished candle-wicks, all of which I had left on deck.

That it may not be thought I am forgetting the ship and her fate, I shall relate what happened to her, which was as follows. Seventeen days after she ran ashore, the crew of the Indian boat went on board to see if they could bring back some more rice. Whether they lit a fire in the stove for some purpose, or left a piece of candle burning, forgetting it in the haste of embarking when no one thought of anything but the waves breaking against the sides, for there was always great danger in going backwards and forwards, and



A BOOR'S WIFE TAKING HER COFFEE

Aquatint by Medland after Samuel Daniell from Barrow's "Travels" (London, 1806)

thus the candle burnt out or the ashes fell on the tarred timbers, it happened that during the third watch a cry was raised that the ship was on fire. The wind was blowing high and made a huge conflagration, which not only blew up the guns, but in a short time the ship was burnt to the water-line. Such is the providence of God that had it not been for this we could hardly have built our vessels, for otherwise we could not have got out any nails, because the ship was already nearly under water and we could not have cut away anything that could be of use to us; but after the fire many pieces were washed ashore, which, though we had great trouble in burning and separating them, were full of nails that after being straightened in the forge were serviceable.

After we were settled in the new camp the work went on very quickly, and by the 15th of August the midship frames, the stem-post and five more frames of the *Nossa Senhora da Natividade* were finished. I ordered another vessel to be commenced, which I called the *Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem*, for the men had now more skill in cutting wood than at first, having gained experience from continual labour, so that many remained at Angola earning their daily wage, as well as any carpenter. I ordered them to work more frequently at this vessel, in order to disarm the suspicions of some who imagined that I was only building one for myself and my followers, and would leave the rest of them behind in these woods: such is the rashness and cavilling of human malice.

In the midst of these labours the religious never neglected to celebrate the feasts of the saints; on the

contrary not one went by without the church being decorated with a profusion of flowers and without our hearing mass and a sermon, with frequent confessions and communions, and when hosts failed for the latter we made a very good stamp for forming them. Crosses were set up in many places, where altars were erected and feasts appointed, prizes being given for the best decorations, as I shall relate hereafter. It was understood, from the favours we received from God our Lord, that the sacrifices which we offered Him in these savage lands were very acceptable, for He always gave us exactly what we required, and though it often seemed to us impossible to obtain or accomplish these things, yet we always succeeded in the end upon having recourse to His infinite mercy.

* * * * *

The fathers kept the feasts of the saints whose rule they followed, thus the chaplain Father Anthony and the Capuchin Father Francis kept the feast of Saint Francis, decorating the church very well, in which I gave them the necessary assistance. As I was very devoted to St. Francis Xavier, Father Jerome Lobo ordered his feast to be kept with great pomp. A comedy and many farces were studied beforehand, and an enclosure was made in which to hold a bull-fight on the eve of the feast, all of which went off very well. On the afternoon of the feast there were many charades and enigmas, with prizes for those who guessed them, by which all were greatly cheered, as was necessary for the encouragement of men exposed to so many hardships.

The *Nossa Senhora da Natividade* was now sheathed, caulked, and tarred outside with benzoin and incense ; and I ordered her to be launched before Christmas, intending to launch the other at the next spring-tide on the 8th or 10th of January. This was accomplished under the direction of the master, Michael George, who arranged everything well and with great skill, fitting up a complete set of tackles which were placed on the river bank at low tide where they worked the ropes made fast to the bow, and greasing the blocks of the way with tallow, of which we had plenty, so that it was like launching from the stocks as ships are launched in this kingdom.

Both vessels were launched in the river by the 10th of January, and sufficient ballast put in them by the master, Michael George. In order to ship the masts he brought them under some rocks which served us as a crane, and they received the masts in the usual way, and as easily as if they had been in Lisbon river provided with all the necessary machinery.

Before this I had ordered oakum to be made from pieces of broken shrouds, and organised a rope-walk, where the master made such ropes as were required, of more or less strands, having preserved some stays which being untwisted served for the purpose.

We also made anchors of wood, which in India are called *chinas*, four for each ship, and the *Nossa Senhora da Natividade*, masted and rigged, was taken to the other side of the river under shelter of a mountain, where we moored her to the trees on shore, anchoring also in the river with the wooden anchors, to secure

her against the strong currents prevalent during the spring-tides. The masts of the other vessel were being fitted in the meantime. I appointed the crews of each vessel, and they repaired to their posts to make them ready for sea, and though I appointed a sailor named Anthony Alvares master of the other, the ship's master, Michael George, directed everything, for such matters could only be entrusted to his experience.

Long before this the cooper had collected all the staves which drifted ashore, and had made pipes, hogsheads, and barrels, in all twenty-seven for each vessel, exclusive of those we had in ordinary use for drinking. The osiers we found in the woods served for hoops, and we also made use of the old ones. They were all filled before we left, but they did not answer their purpose well, the staves being old and shrunk by the sun and sea, so that much of the water leaked out, although they stood on shore full of salt water for many days. Nothing was omitted of what is provided in this kingdom for the voyage to India, for what escaped me was supplied by the skill of the good officers and other members of my company.

BENTO TEYXEYRA FEYA

[The following extract is from a pamphlet printed in Lisbon in 1650, and called: ‘Account of journey at the Cape of Good Hope, and of what befell Dom Sebastian Lobo da Silveira and others after the wrecks of the ships *Sacramento* and *Nossa Senhora da Atalaya*,’ by Bento Teyxeyra Feya. It is a wonderful story, and may be read in full in the *Records of South-Eastern Africa*. I have only space for a passage which tells of the first stages of the calamitous journey of the survivors of the *Senhora da Atalaya*, and the end of a great Portuguese nabob, Dom Sebastian Lobo, who being both too fat and too proud to walk, determined to die with dignity. The story is so full of strange and sad adventures that I should like to have quoted it at length.]

HOW DOM SEBASTIAN LOBO DA SILVEIRA MADE A GOOD END

ON the 8th of July (1647) Dom Duarte Lobo went with the under pilot Balthazar Rodrigues, Urbano Fialho Ferreira, of the order of Christ, son of Antonio Fialho Ferreira, and others, to the river Infante to measure the altitude of the sun, and they found the latitude $33\frac{1}{3}^{\circ}$. The point of a ridge lying to the north-west was thickly wooded, the shore was more than two leagues in length, the coast was bordered with hills of white sand with trees on the top, and the mountain was bare. When they had measured the altitude of the sun an alarm was given that there were Kaffirs on the shore, and signs were made to them to wait. When they approached

to speak no one could understand them, because they spoke with clicks. They go naked, and only wear a few skins. They sow no grain, and live only on roots, the produce of the chase, and some shell-fish when they come down to the shore. Their arms are of fire-hardened wood and a few iron assegais.

When Dom Duarte Lobo and the others returned to the camp, the arms, balls, powder, a few cocoa nuts, the copper required for barter, and the lines and hooks for crossing rivers, were all divided and registered in the king's book. The rice was found to be all musty and rotten, and therefore we hastened our departure the more, burying the copper and powder which was left over.

During the days we remained there the captain consulted with the pilot Jasper Rodrigues Coelho, the notary Francisco Cabrita Freyra, and other sick persons who could not travel on foot, whether he should order the boat to be prepared for them and give them men to manage it, but the pilot would not accept the offer, and there was no further question about it, though it was the best plan to save these people and the women and sick from perishing, as will be seen hereafter.

Dom Sebastian Lobo da Silveira was so unfit for walking, being very much burdened with flesh and having other complaints, that he could not take a few steps on his feet; and therefore he asked the ship boys, and the officers to persuade them, and it was arranged through the intervention of his brother Dom Duarte Lobo, who was beloved by all, that they should carry him in a net which they made of fishing lines, he paying eight hundred xerafins to each ship-boy, to

which Dom Duarte bound himself, giving pledges of gold. This nobleman was also sick, and in the camp we gave him up for dead ; and he prepared a net with his negroes and two more whom he bought, and so attempted to accomplish the journey. Domingos Borges de Sousa did the same, and made a hammock of a carpet ; and Francisco Cabrita made another of a piece of cloth, the oars of the boat, which the carpenter fashioned, serving for poles. The pilot went with two crutches and the others as their infirmities permitted, the healthy carrying their arms, and all with their wallets, in which they carried their copper for barter and linen for cleanliness.

More time was necessary to rest from our past labours and gather strength for what was in store for us, but our lack of provisions and the unhealthiness of the site obliged us to set out on Monday, the 15th of July, in the morning, after we had all recited the litany of our Lady. It is impossible to state in a few words with what sorrow and tears this pitiful tragedy was begun, for we left there, because of the wounds with which they came ashore, a Kaffir belonging to the boatswain Manuel de Sousa, a little cabra of mine, and a little negress belonging to the gunner Francis Teixeira, who was drowned in coming ashore in the boat.

We commenced our journey, the captain going first, the master Jacinto Antonio leading the van, and the boatswain the rear. And we began to feel the grief and misery of the sick and those incapable of keeping up with the company, judging from the beginning what it would be in the future. Beneath our eyes, when we had gone less than a league along the shore, Bartholomeu

Pereira Loreto, a sailor, remained behind from fatigue, and the Kaffirs who followed us immediately killed him, without our being able to assist him. Farther on the same Kaffirs took from Dona Barbara the wallet which she carried on her back with her share of copper and provisions, and a diamond seal which had been saved, and if the rearguard had not hastened to assist her, they would have killed her as they did Loreto. As she could not keep up with us, Antonio Carvalho da Costa, a sailor, took her on his shoulders and carried her until nightfall. The Portuguese nun, Joanna do Espirito Santo, also gave great trouble, as well as the other sick. However, we pitched our camp at last upon a ridge near the sea, where we found a spring of very good water ; and the pilot, being unable to reach it, remained a gun-shot behind, and on his asking for confession the fathers attended to him with great charity, and also to the notary, who waited behind and arrived very late at night. Here we passed the night.

On Tuesday, the 16th of July, the captain called a council to determine what was to be done with the women and the incapable, who prevented us from travelling with the necessary speed to reach the land where we could barter provisions, for the few grains of rice with which we started from the place where we were wrecked amounted to so little that there was not more than two measures for each person, and according to the assertion of those who had already journeyed by that road, we could find nothing to barter within less than a full month. After the matter had been well debated, seeing the state we were in, and that the pilot, the notary, Dona Barbara, and Joanna do Espirito

Santo could not accompany us, and by waiting for them we all exposed ourselves to perishing of hunger, it was resolved to tell the women to walk in front, there being now no question of the pilot and notary, for one was already speechless and the other past all hope, and that we would go forward the next day, leaving behind those who could not keep up with the company. When the Portuguese women were told this, they said they hoped God would go with us, but they dared not and could not. Therefore we left them after they had confessed themselves, together with a little negress who chose to stay with them ; and they had no food whatever.¹

On this occasion Dom Sebastian was in danger of being left behind, for the ship-boys who carried him could not endure the labour, and therefore refused to do it ; but Dom Duarte Lobo, with fair words and greater reward, induced a few to continue doing it. That day we journeyed along the seashore by ridges from which flowed many rivulets of fresh water, and we crossed several rivers which, as they were not dry, did us great damage. We found some shell-fish on the shore, but very little, and some large birds like peacocks were seen. Here, as the road was bad and the food little or nothing, the ship-boys resolved to leave Dom Sebastian Lobo, and thereupon it was arranged to select twelve of the most robust among

¹ Nine survivors of the galleon *Sacramento*, consort of the *Atalaya*, also shipwrecked, but farther along the coast, ultimately overtook the survivors of the *Atalaya*, and told them that marching in their footsteps 'they came upon Dona Barbara, whom they found alive near the nun Joanna do Espirito Santo, the pilot, and the notary, who lay dead. She grieved them enough by asking them to take her with them, and when they asked if she could walk she said no, and so they left her.'

them, and that the rest should carry their baggage. We travelled one day by rough and narrow paths near the sea, where only one person could pass at a time, the road being on a steep incline with ravines on the side of the shore. We came to a dangerous pass, from which we went on to a very rapid river, which we crossed with the water to our knees ; and after we had crossed it we rested. When we set out again the ship-boys abandoned Dom Sebastian Lobo, who, not daring to proceed on foot, remained behind. The next day we reached another river, its mouth thickly wooded with shady trees ; and here we found a young whale which had come ashore on the beach, from which each one cut his piece to eat. That afternoon we went through many bogs and difficult passes, after which we formed our camp near a river of good water.

Finding Dom Sebastian missing, for the captain and Dom Duarte having gone on before did not know that the ship-boys had abandoned him, the sailors were persuaded to go and bring him, and it being now night they went back two leagues and found him where he had been left. They brought him to the camp, which he reached very late, saying in a loud voice that Dom Sebastian Lobo da Silveira cared not for death, but for the bad treatment shown to his person. The next day it was treated of with the sailors that they should carry this nobleman, from which task the ship-boys had desisted, the captain making many remarks upon his high rank and upon his having embarked for the kingdom on a summons from his Majesty.

The next day we advanced slowly, and almost within a league we came to the river of Saint Christopher.

In order to cross it we made two rafts, the river being very full and deep, with a strong and violent current. One we dedicated to our Lady of Help and the other to our Lady of Good Fortune. Here Dom Sebastian confessed himself and made his will, giving up hope of being able to accompany us, and displaying many jewels and precious things of which no one knew, he offered them to any who would bear him on their shoulders. Seeing this, and upon the persuasions of the master Jacinto Antonio, to whom he gave six links of a chain of gold for the purpose, sixteen of the strongest sailors were treated with, to whom Dom Sebastian delivered all the things he had displayed. We crossed the river, which could not be done that day, because it was very impetuous and the rafts could not cross it except at low tide, and the next day, the 19th of July, we finished crossing it, leaving there one of our Kaffirs who was carried away by the current and drowned, and a sailor, Antonio da Silva, who was sick and could not manage to walk. On the 20th of July the sixteen sailors agreed to carry Dom Sebastian Lobo.

After we had crossed the river we advanced along the shore by narrow paths, and when we reached a spring Pilippe Romão, a passenger who had come from the kingdom in the same ship and who was married in Lisbon and had been master of the horse to Princess Margarita, remained behind, because he was sick and could not accompany us. There had already remained behind Lourenço Rodrigues, the squire of Dom Duarte Lobo, who was married in Alfama, and he could not walk so much, having travelled hitherto with two

crutches. As his master passed him he bade him take courage, and he replied that he hoped God would help him and bring him before the eyes of the lady Dona Leonora, his wife, for he had neither strength nor courage to follow us. The father friar Antonio de São Guilherme also encouraged him, but he persisted in his resolution, and when the father had gone on a little way he called to him, and he thinking it was some matter of reconciliation returned to hear what he wanted, and he said to him : ‘Father Antonio, before you go do me the favour of a pinch of snuff, and may God be with you ; and it would be a great consolation to me if they would dig a grave in this sand that I might get into it.’

Walking three leagues that day. we crossed a river with a strong current with the water to our waists. And the next day, having gone a league, we reached another river, which we crossed at full tide with the water to our breasts. After this we found better roads but hardly any inhabitants, only a few Kaffir hunters appearing, who would not approach and speak to us. Upon this road we found good water and some small wild palm-trees, the rind of which, removed with difficulty, was a relief, hunger being now general. This day we saw some straw huts with Kaffirs, who on noticing us took to flight. Going in, we found two fish and a few grains of millet. Farther on we encountered two Kaffirs, to each of whom, to induce them to come and speak to us, we gave two locks of a writing-desk, which are the jewels most esteemed by these barbarians of Kaffraria ; and when we asked where we would find anything to barter, they replied by signs that we would find it farther on.

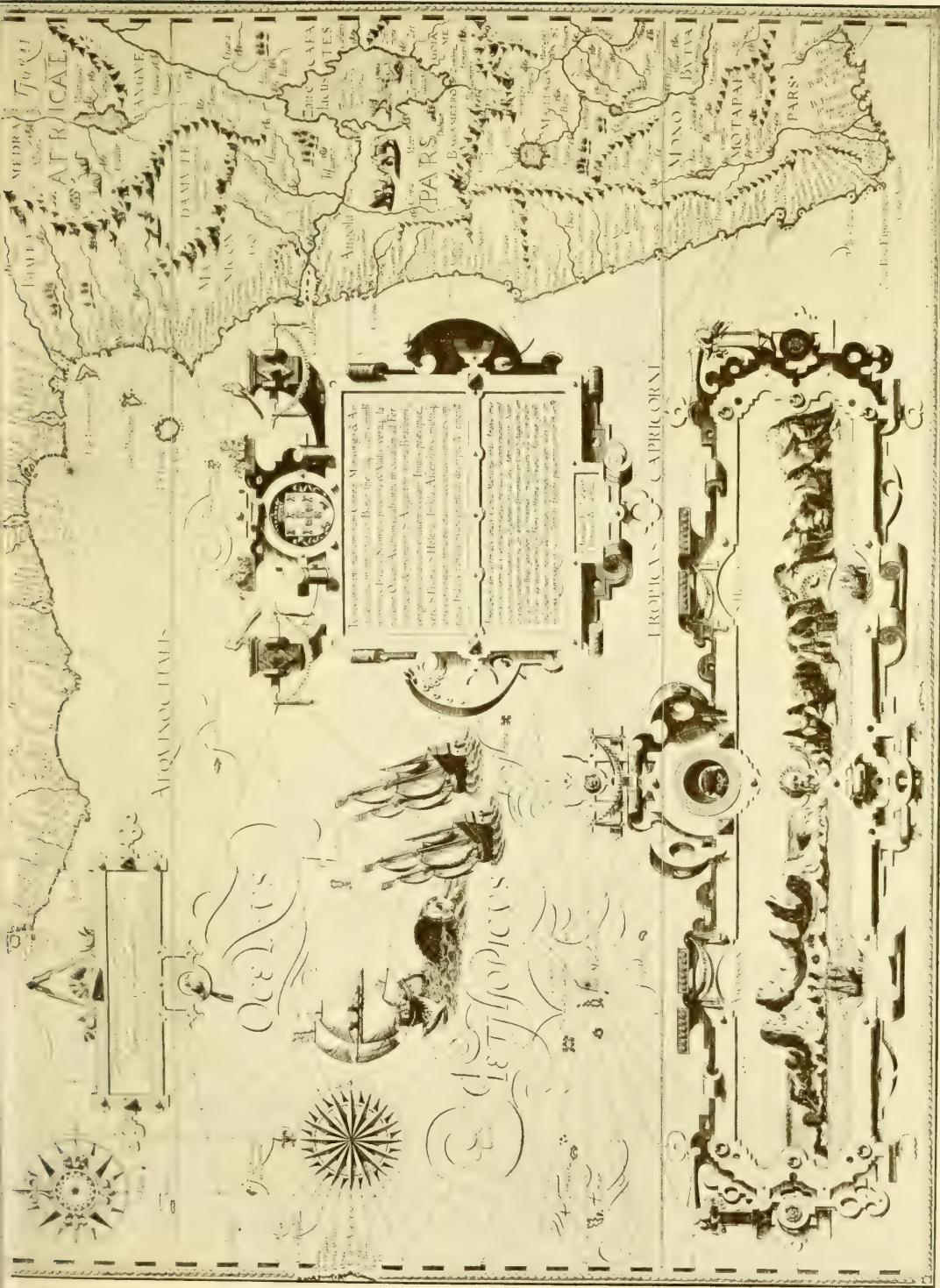
On the 21st of July we moved forward quickly, pressed by hunger and with no order of march, being very weak. Two barbarians came out of a thicket, and finding Felicio Gomes, a sailor, separated from the others, took from him a wallet and a brass can which he had in his hands. We hastened to his assistance, but it was of no use, for when these Kaffirs attack it is impossible for any one to overtake them. Reaching a height, we set fire to some huts, in which we found nothing but a few empty clay pots. After this we reached the camp, which was already pitched near a river. We were all very sad, because of the resolution which those who carried Dom Sebastian had come to of leaving him, because they found their strength fail them. And he, giving up hope and resolved to remain behind, first of all set about confessing himself, and gave a ruby ring to each of those who had hitherto carried him, disposing of everything else, and even depriving himself of a metal cross with reliques which he wore round his neck and a small copper kettle. He remained without any food whatever for there was none, and all parted from him with just sorrow, leaving him under a little cloth tent, fat and in good health, with his strength unimpaired, because he would not venture to proceed on foot. There remained with him a little Chinese and a Kaffir who had belonged to Domingos Borges de Sousa. Dom Duarte Lobo, his brother, remained with him a long while, Dom Sebastian displaying in this extremity so much patience and good courage that if he persevered therein his salvation may be piously held as certain.

JOHN JOURDAIN

[John Jourdain was Chief Merchant on the British East India Company's ship *Ascension*, which put into Table Bay on 14th July 1608. In his Journal (which has been reprinted by the Hakluyt Society) he gives us an interesting account of Table Bay at this period, and the extract may be taken as typical of the practical sailor's view of the country and the natives. The journal ought to be read by those interested in the history of the sea-route to India. Jourdain had many adventures, among them a visit to the Mogul's court at Agra. He rose to be President of the Council of India ; but his end was sad. He was surprised in the Road of Patani by a superior Dutch squadron, and was killed after a gallant fight on 17th July 1619.]

THE CAPE IN THE TIME OF KING JAMES

HAVING mored our shippe, the next daye, beinge the 15th, our Generall with the merchants and maisters went aland to seeke fresh victualls and a convenient place to seet upp our pynnace. And cominge aland we found aboute twenty people or more (of the cuntrye) in lyttle symple cottages made with bowes, better to keepe them from the sonne then from the raigne, which this cuntrye doth afford in plentye. To theise people we made signes for cattle and sheepe ; which by our signes they understoode us, and makeinge shewe (as wee understoode them) within three dayes ; which was effected att the tyme, we showing them iron hoopes, which is the best money which they doe esteeme. In the



EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MAP OF SOUTH-WESTERN AFRICA

interim our Generall caused tents to be sett up for the carpenters, and landed the pinnace which was brought out of England, to sett her upp. And vewing over the stones where the shippes that are bound outward or homeward doe use to sett their names, where we found the names of Captain Keelling, Captain Hawkens, Captain Myddleton and divers others, beinge passed towards the Indies, vizt. Captain Myddleton in July, 1607, and Captain Keelinge the moneth of December ditto anno.

The people of the cuntrye seinge us to sett upp our tents, they removed households and went halfe a myle farther into the woods with their famelye. And yt seemes that they gave notice to the rest of the cuntrye people of our cominge, for that within shorte tyme wee had stoure of sheepe and other cattle brought dayelye to us, which wee bought, vizt. a cowe for a peece of an ould iron hoope of a yard longe, and a sheepe for halfe soe much. And many tymes, havinge sould them to us, yf we looked not the better to them, they would steale them agayne from us and bringe them agayne to sell; which we were fayne with patience to buy agayne of them, without givinge any foule language for feare least they would bringe us noe more. As lykewyse yf they stole any thinge, yf yt weare of smale valewe, wee would not meddle with them butt suffer them to carry yt awaye; which they tooke verye kindly, in soe much that they brought such plentye downe, more then wee were able to tell what to doe withall. Yett we refused noone, for feare lesse in soe doinge they would bringe noe more.

Now knowinge that our tyme would be somethinge the longer in this place, because that our Generall was determyned to make the pinnace bigger and higher then in her first bulke, for the better passinge the Cape and more servisable for busynes, therefore yt was concluded to land four peeces of ordynance, vizi. two faucons out of the *Assention* and two out of the *Unyon*, the better to prevent myscheife or assault that might be offred by those heathen people ; and to that purpose we made a bulwarke with earth, and in everye corner there was placed a falcon, for feare of assaulte by night to burne our pynnace when she should be ended. But we could not perceave that they gave any such attempt, because we gave them as much content as in us lay. For in the interim of the building our pinnace, our Generall sent our boates to an iland called Pe(n)guin Iland, lying at the entrance of the bay, to fetch seales, alias seawolves, to give them content, and partly to renew our store of oyle, which wee had leaked out ; having on this iland such great quantitie of those fishes, that within lesse than a day a man might lade a good shipp with them. And having brought our boates laden with these seales, we cutt the fatt from them for oyle, and the rest was throwne a good distance from the tents because of noysomnes ; upon which fish the Saldanians fed very hartilie on, after it had lyen in a heape 15 daies, that noe Christian could abide to come within a myle of itt. Notwithstandinge the loathsomnes of the smell, these people would eate of it as if it had bene better meate, and would not take of that which laye upon the topp, which were the sweetest, but would search under for those which were most rotten, and laye it on the

coales without any ceremonyes of washinge ; and beeinge a little scorched with the fire, would eate it with a good stomacke ; in soe much that my opinion is that if without danger they could come to eate mans flesh, they would not make any scruple of it, for that I think the world doth not yeild a more heathenish people and more beastlie.

Off these kinde of people and there behaviour I neede not to write, because it is sufficientlie knowne to many of our countrymen ; as alsoe the iland from whence these seals are brought, called Penguin Iland, because there is on that iland a kinde of fowle called by that name, which hath noe feathers, which are soe naturallie simple that you maye drive them as you would doe a flocke of sheepe ; in soe much that I sawe some of our men to drive a good quantitye of them into our boate, haveinge laied a board from the boate to the strand ; which wee carryed to the mayne to give content to the Saldanians, they much rejoysinge at our comeinge, makinge a greate feast amongst themselves for the penguins. One this iland wee found some 20 sheepe which had bene lefte by the Hollanders, as we perceaved by a writeinge lefte in a tyneinge platter ; which sheepe were the fattest that ever I sawe. Wee tooke the sheepe and left at our departure other in leiu of them, with five cowes and a bull to increase. This iland will make the leanest sheepe that wee cann chuse to bee fatt within one monneth, as per experyence of our time of beeinge there wee made profe ; putting sheepe on the iland at our first comeinge, and within the time aforesaid weare very fatt ; which seemed to mee very strange, seeinge that there was noe good feedinge for

them, onlie wild hearbs and longe grasse, and noe fresh water.

Alsoe within a river half a mile distant from the waterringe place wee tooke much fishe with our saine, att one draught above 300 fishes of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foote longe and more, lyke a breame, very good fish ; not any formerlye knowne to bee taken in this river ; which fishe att all tymes when our companie were desirous to eate fishe, wee went and tooke within twoe howers as much as both the ships could eate in a daye. And at the rivers mouth at our comeinge away where wee waterred we took 3500 mulletts at twoe draughtes, which served us well in our voyage. And in my opinion the reason whie there was much store of fishe at this tyme was because the baye in 15 daies before was full of whales playinge on the water, which the fishe did shunne and came neere the shoare, where the whale could not come at them.

Our time beinge longe at Saldania by reason of settinge upp our pinnace, haveinge little buysines, for recreation my selfe with other of the marchannts would take our walke to the topp of the hill called the Table, which before wee retourned found it to bee a wearysome journey. And beinge on the topp of the Table wee des(c)ryed to the northward as it seemed to us a harbour, and that the sea entred into lande ; which the next daye, haveinge leave of the Generall, my selfe with ten persons more, well armed, went by the rivers side untill wee came to the place supposed to be a harbour ; but when wee came at it wee soone perceaved yt to bee but a standinge poole of two miles or more aboute, not above a fathome water, beinge fresh water which

came from the mountaynes when it raigned, the sea comeinge neere it but entered not, but upon a storme. This water out of this poole or pond runneth into the river where wee take our fish, and from thence takes his issue into the sea ; which is the reason that the water of this river is brackish and not salte, notwithstandinge the sea floweth daylie into it, that ware it not for the fresh water which cometh out of the mountaines it would bee as salte as the sea. It is to bee understande that this river is a mile from the place where the ships doe water ; that beinge very fresh and good, proceeding from divers springes, which cometh from the mountaynes. In this journey up the river wee sawe many estreges and the footinge of elaphaunts, much fish and fowle, &c.

Although I have beene over tedyous aboute this place, which is soe well knowne to dyvers of our nation, yet seeinge it is but my labour to write and at the readers courtesie to thinke as hee pleases, therefore I will not omitt brieflie to shewe my opinion concerninge this place of Saldania, which I hould to bee very healthfull and comodious for all that trade the East Indyes. As also if it were manured, I am of opinion that it would beare any thinge that should bee sowen or planted in it, as for all kinde of graine, wheate, barlye, &c., besides all kinde of fruite, as orenges, lemons, limes and grapes, &c. Beinge planted and sowne in due time, and kept as it ought to be, if this countrye were inhabited by a civell nation, haveinge a castle or forte for defence against the outrage of those heathenish people and to withstand any forraine force, in shorte time it might bee brought to some civilltie, and within fewe

yeares able of it selfe to furnish all shippes refreshinge, for the countrie at present doth abound with fishe and flesh in greate plentie ; with (while ?) manie kinde of good heaps (of) stonns to build are at hand ; onely timber wilbe somewhat tedious in fetchinge, which is aboute three miles of ; but if the cattle of the countrie were used to drawe, as in other countryes (which they may easilie bee brought unto), it would not seeme soe tedious. Nowe howe necessarie this place would bee for shippinge to refresh their sicke men, both out and home, I leave it to your better judgments. Though the refreshinge of shippes travailinge the East Indyes bee very comodious yet there is other hopes to bee expected out of this mayne countrie in future tyme, viz. first, these people beinge brought to civilitie may likewise in tyme bee brought to knowe God, and understand our language, and wee theirs, and by them learne of other trades which maye bee within the countrie ; this beinge in the middest of two rich countries, as Ginnee and Moseambique, and noe doubt but here are store of elaphaunts teeth within the land, for that wee sawe the footinge of many. If all this faile, yet lampe oyle and hides will bee had and seales skinns, to free some parte of the charge in the meane time. Thus much concerninge this place of Saldania, where wee weare settinge up our pinnace and refreshinge us from the 14 of Julie to the 16th of September ; which haveinge lanched the pinnace, and made John Lufkin master and putt into her three monneths victualls with other necessaries, and named her the *Good Hope*, wee came aboard, makinge us readye to sett saile.

EDWARD TERRY

[Edward Terry was chaplain to the famous Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador to the Great Mogul, and wrote an interesting account of the embassy in his *Voyage to East India*, first printed in 1655 and reprinted in 1777. The expedition reached the Cape on 12th June 1615, and Terry gives a curious account of the place and the natives, whom he calls ‘Coras,’ no doubt after the famous and unhappy Cora who went to England, was given a suit of brass armour by Sir Thomas Smith, instructed his fellow natives in the principles of exchange and of cookery, and was afterwards hanged by the Dutch for raising the price of commodities. Terry is a parson in grain, and can never resist the temptation to moralise ; but his account of the attempt to colonise the Cape with English convicts is a valuable piece of history, and his description of the sea fight with the Portuguese is a racy bit of writing.]

I

THE SAD STORY OF CAPTAIN CROSS

IN the year 1614 ten English men having received the sentence of death for their several crimes, at the sessions-house in the Old Bailey, at London, had their execution respite, by the intreaty of the East India merchants, upon condition that they should be all banished to this place ; to the end (if they could find any peaceable abode there) they might discover something advantageous to their trade ; and this was accordingly done. But two of them, when they came thither,

were taken thence, and carried on the voyage ; one, whose surname was Duffield, by Sir Thomas Row, that year sent ambassador to the Great Mogul ; that fellow, thus redeemed from a most sad banishment, was afterward brought back again into England, by that noble gentleman, and here being intrusted by him, stole some of his plate and ran away ; another carried on the voyage likewise, but what became of him afterward I know not. So that there remained eight, which were there left, with some ammunition and victuals, with a small boat, to carry them to and from a very little uninhabited island, lying in the very mouth of that bay, a place for their retreat and safety from the natives on the main. The island called Pen-guin island, probably so named at first by some Welshmen, in whose language Pen-guin signifies a white head, and there are very many great lazy fowls upon and about this island, with great coal-black bodies, and very white heads, called Pen-guins. The chief man of the eight there left was surnamed Cross, who took the name of Captain Cross ; he was formerly a yeoman of the guard unto King James, but having had his hand in blood twice or thrice, by men slain by him in several duels, and now being condemned to die with the rest, upon very great suit made for him he was hither banished with them ; whither the justice of almighty God was dispatched after him, as it were in a whirlwind, and followed him close at the very heels, and overtook him, and left him not till he had paid dear for that blood he had formerly spilt. This Cross was a very stout and a very resolute man, who quarrelling with and

abusing the natives, and engaging himself far amongst them, immediately after himself and the rest were left in that place, many of these savages being got together, fell upon him, and with their darts thrown, and arrows shot at him, stuck his body so full of them, as if he had been larded with darts and arrows, making him look like the figure of the man in the almanack, that seems to be wounded in every part ; or like that man described by Lucan, *totum pro vulnere corpus*, who was all wound where blood touched blood. The retaliations of the Lord are sure and just ; He that is mercy itself abhors cruelty above all other sins ; He cannot endure that one man should devour another, as the beasts of the field, birds of the air, fishes of the sea do, and therefore usually shows exemplary, signal revenges for that sin of blood, selling it at a dear rate unto them that shed it. Every sin hath a tongue, but that of blood outcries and drowns the rest ; blood being a clamorous and a restless suitor, whose mouth will not be stopt till it receive an answer, as it did here. The other seven, the rest of these miserable banditti who were there with Cross, recovered their boat and got off the shore without any great hurt, and so rowing to their island, the waves running high, they split their boat at their landing, which engaged them to keep in that place, they having now no possible means left to stir thence. And, which made their condition while they were in it most extremely miserable, it is a place wherein grows never a tree, either for sustenance or shelter, or shade, nor anything beside (I ever heard of) to help sustain nature ; a place that hath never a drop of fresh

water in it, but what the showers leave in the holes of the rocks. And besides all this, there are a very great number of snakes in that island (as I have been told by many that have been upon it), so many of those venomous worms, that a man cannot tread safely in the long grass which grows in it for fear of them. And all these put together must needs make that place uncomfortable to these wretched men. To this may be added their want of provision, having nothing but dry biscuit, and no great quantity of that ; so that they lived with hungry bellies, without any place fit for repose, without any quiet rest, for they could not choose but sleep in fear continually ; and what outward condition could make men more miserable than this ? Yet notwithstanding all they suffered, these seven vile wretches all lived to be made examples afterward of divine justice ; for after they had continued in, and endured this sad place for the space of five or six months, and they had grown all even almost mad by reason of their several pressing wants and extremities, it pleased God by providence to bring an English ship into that road, returning for England. Four of these seven men, being impatient of any more hours' stay there, immediately after that ship was come in, made a float with the ruins of their split boat, which they had saved together, and with other wood which they had gotten thither, and with ravelled and untwisted boat-ropes, fastened as well as they could all together (for there are no such sudden teachers and instructors as extremities are). These four got upon the float, which they had thus prepared, and poising it as well as they

could by their several weight, hoped by the benefit of their oars and the strength of the tide (that then ran quick towards the ship newly arrived), they might recover it ; but this their expectation failed them, for it being late in the day when they made this attempt, and they, not discovered by the ship, which then rode a good way up in the bay, before they could come up near unto her, the tide returned, and so carried them back into the main sea, where they all perished miserably. The day following the ship sent a boat to the island, which took those three yet surviving into her, as the other four might have been, if they could have exercised their patience for one night longer. These survivors came aboard the ship, and related all that had befallen to their fellows. But these three, notwithstanding all their former miseries, when they were taken into the ship behaved themselves so lewdly, as they returned homeward, that they were very often put into the bilboes, or ship's stocks, in the way returning, and otherwise many times punished for their great and several misdemeanours. At last the ship being safely returned into the Downs, she had not been there at anchor above three hours but these three villains got on shore ; and they had not been ashore above three hours but they took a purse, and a very few hours after were apprehended and all taken for that fact ; and suddenly after that, their very foul story being related to the Lord Chief Justice, and they looked upon as men altogether incorrigible, and incapable of amendment by lesser corrections, by his special warrant were executed upon their former condemnation (for

which they were banished, not to return hither again, but never pardoned) near Sandwich, in Kent, where they committed the robbery. From whose example we may learn that it is not in the power of any affliction, how heavy soever it light, and how long soever it lie, if it be not sanctified, to do any man good ; that when the rod is upon a man, if he be not taught as well as chastened, all the stripes bestowed upon him are cast away. A man might have hoped that these wretched fellows had been long enough in the fire to have purged away their dross. But afflictions, like fire, harden as well as soften ; and experience teaches us that the winds and waves, though they beat with their greatest violence upon the rocks, yet leave them as they found them, unmoveable ; it being a most tried truth recorded by Solomon, Prov. xxvii. v. 22. That bray or beat a fool in a mortar, he will not leave his foolishness ; but as he was put in, so will come out, a fool.

II

A GALLANT SEA-FIGHT

THE day following, being the 6th of August, early in the morning, our men looking out for land espied a sail which stood directly in our course, but far before us ; at first sight she appeared as if there had been some great hill interposed betwixt us ; for first, we had sight only of her colours in her high main-top, after this of her masts and sails, and then of her hull ; after which manner ships at sea do everywhere appear at great distance one to another ; which proves that that

mighty collection of waters, called seas, have a convex, or globous and round body, placed by almighty God, as it were in hills, or heaps, and being above the earth, and higher than it, they have set limits, and commanded they are to their bounds, contrary to their nature, which they may not pass ; for so saith the Psalmist (Ps. civ. 9), ‘Thou hast set a bound which they may not pass over, that they return not again to cover the earth.’ But this is known to all that have been at sea, therefore we proceed. Upon the first sight of that ship, we were all glad of the object, improving all endeavours we could to overtake her, withal preparing our great ordnance, that if she were a friend, we might salute her, if an enemy be in readiness for her. So eagerly pursuing this unlooked-for ship with the wings of the wind, after we had given her chace about five hours, her colours and bulk discovered her to be a very great Portugal carrack, bound for Goa, lying in the skirts of East-India, and principally inhabited by Portuguese, the city of residence for the Vice-Roy to the King of Spain, her commander called Don Emanuel de Meneces, a brave resolute man, as the sequent will demonstrate. About noon the *Globe*, our least ship (by reason of her nimbleness, sailing better than her fellows), came up with her on her broadside to windward, and according to the custom of the sea, hailed her, asking whence she was ? She answered indirectly of the sea, calling our men rouges, thieves, hereticks, devils ; and the conclusion of her rude compliment was, in loud cannon language, discharging seven great pieces of artillery at our *Globe* (though she had very little reason

so to do, we having four ships in company, and she alone), whereof six pierced her through the hull, maiming some of her men, but killing none. Our *Globe* replied in the same voice, and after that fell off.

About three of the clock in the afternoon, the *Charles*, our *Admiral*, came up with her, so near, that we were within pistol shot ; our commander, Captain Joseph, proceeded religiously, in offering them a treaty, before he proceeded to revenge ; so we saluted her with our trumpets, she with her wind instruments, then we shewed our men on both sides aloft ; this done, our commander called to them, requiring theirs to come aboard, to give an account for the injury they had lately before offered us ; they answered, they had never a boat ; our commander replied, that he would send them one, and immediately caused his barge to be manned, and sent off to them, which brought back one of their officers, and two others of inferior rank, with this message from the Captain, how that he had promised the King of Spain, his master, not to leave his ship, and therefore forc'd he might but never would be commanded out of her. Captain Joseph received the message, and used those that brought it civilly ; and then ordered that they should be shewed (in a broadside of great guns that lay all ready prim'd to be fir'd against them) how we were prepared to vindicate ourselves, which put the poor Portuguese in a fit of trembling, and upon it desired our commander to write a few words to theirs, that happily with their persuasion might make him come. Captain Joseph, willing to preserve his honour, and to prevent blood,

forthwith caused a few lines in Spanish, to this effect, to be wrote unto him :—

‘ That whereas he, the commander of the carrack, had offered violence to our ship that sailed peacably by him, he will’d him to come presently, and give reason for that wrong, or else at his peril.’

So he discharged those Portuguese, sending one of our master’s mates back with them with these few words, and this further message, ‘ that if he refused to come, he would sink by his side, but that he would force him before he left him ’; *Morientium verba sunt prophetica*, his words came to pass, for he himself suddenly after fell by a great shot that came from the carrack’s side. The commander of the carrack, notwithstanding the message and menace sent to him, was still peremptory in his first answer. So our men returning, Captain Joseph himself made the three first shots at them, all which (the mark being so fair and near) hit them ; this done, the bullets began to fly on both sides, our captain cheering his company, immediately ascended the half-deck, the place where commanders use to keep in those encounters, to shew their own gallantry and to encourage the company under their command ; where he had not been the eighth part of an hour e’re a great shot from the carrack’s quarter deprived him of life in the twinkling of an eye. For this Captain Joseph, he was certainly one who had very much of a man in him for years antient, who had commanded before in sea-fights, which he met withal within the Streights in the Midland Sea, and near death many times in them, which took other

round about him, while himself went off untouched ; and the reason was, because his appointed time for dying was not yet come. Certainly there is never a bullet flies, that carries not a commission with it to hit or miss, to kill or spare ; the time, the place, and every circumstance besides of a man's dissolution, is fore-determined. That one dies in the field, another in his bed, one on the sea, another on the shore, one by sickness, another by violence, one in his own, another in a foreign nation, is fore-decreed in Heaven ; the time of every man's change being set to a minute, which he must not pass. And though we hear it not vocally, yet almighty God calls every one by his name, and saith to one, die thou there ; and to another, die thou yonder. Whence it was, that the place where our commander then stood, waving his sword, must of necessity be the stage of his present mortality. Before what his purposes were in relation to his enemy with whom he now encountered, I know not ; but his thoughts, whatever they were, in the shortest moment of time perished, Death surprizing him now swifter than thought ; so that in his own person he could do his enemy now no more hurt ; for dead lions bite not. The bullet which carried away his life, hit him on the breast, beating out of his body his heart, and other of his vitals, which lay around him scattered in his diffused blood. A runner is tried by the race, a pilot by the tempest, a commander, whether at sea or land, by a battle, and *Ducem oportet in acie mori.*

'A Captain no where dies,
Better, than in the face of enemies.'

Yet, as Sophocles sometimes spake of Philoctetes, that he kill'd others gloriously when he was slain himself. So the blood of this resolute commander was more than sufficiently revenged, as will appear by the consequence, in the fall and ruin of most of his provoking enemies.

After Captain Joseph was slain, the master of our ship continued the fight about half an hour, then (knowing there was another to be admitted into that prime place of command) the night approaching, for that time gave over, putting out a flag of council, to call the captain of the vice-Admiral (Capt. Henry Pepwell) who was to succeed, and the other commanders, aboard, to consult about the prosecution of this encounter. The night being come, we now proceeded no further. The carrack stood still on her course, putting forth a light in her poop for us to follow her, and about midnight came to an anchor under the island of Mohilia, which when we perceived we let fall our anchors too.

The 7th, early before it began to dawn, we prepared for a new assault ; first commanding ourselves in prayer to almighty God, who doth whatsoever he pleaseth 'in Heaven and in Earth, in the Sea, and in all places' (Ps. cxxxv. 6). Towards the close of which exercise, I spake some words of exhortation and encouragement to all the people of the ship there together assembled ; but was presently out-rhetoricked by our new commander, who spake to the company thus : ' My masters, I have never a speech to make unto you, but to speak to the cooper to give every one of you a good cup of sack, and so God bless us.' Here was a speech indeed,

that was short and sweet, that had something following it to make it most savoury, that it might be tasted as well as heard. Mine was verbal, without any such relish, and therefore I forbear to insert it.

The morning come, we found the carrack so close to the shore, and the nearest of our ships at least a league off, that we held our hands for that day, expecting, when she would weigh her anchors and stand off to sea, a fitter place to deal with her. And that afternoon we chested our late slain commander, putting some great shot with him into it, that he might presently sink, and without any ceremony of guns, &c., usual upon such occasions, because our enemy should take no notice, put him overboard against the island of Mohilia, where he made his own grave, as all dead bodies do, buried not in dust but water, which shall one day as well as the earth ‘give up its dead’ (Rev. xx. 13), when all the bodies of men since the world began, that have tasted death in their several generations, however after death they have been bestowed, wheresoever laid up, shall be raised again, and though all would not, yet all must.

A little before night that present day, the carrack departed again to sea; we all loosed our anchors, opened our sails, and followed. The day now left us, and our proud adversary, unwilling as it should seem to escape, put forth a light (as before) for us to follow him, as afterward we did to purpose. The night well-nigh spent, we commended again ourselves and cause to God; when I observed more seeming devotion in our seamen that morning than at any time before,

or after, while I kept them company ; who, for the generality, are such a kind of people, that nothing will bow them, to bring them on their knees, but extreme hazards. When this exercise was ended, the day began to appear in a red mantle, which proved bloody unto many that beheld it. And now we entered upon a second encounter, our four ships resolving to take their turns one after the other, that we might compel this proud Portuguese either to bend or break.

But before I shall give an account of our further engagement, I will take notice of two accidents which to me seemed very observable, and exemplary ; the first this : There was one in our ship, whose sirname was **Raven** (a servant to our late slain commander) who, immediately before we began to engage, came to me and told me that he had a great desire to follow his master ; with what mind he spake this I know not, but if heartily and with desire, his speech was very ill ; for if it be an extreme madness for a man to intreat God to take away the life of his beast, much more to request him to take away his own life. But whatsoever his petition was in respect of his inward desire, it pleased almighty God presently to answer him herein, by the first great shot that came from the enemy, which struck off his head. A man may hope to speed well that knows how to petition well ; but by the righteous judgment of God it oftentimes falls out, that such unadvised requests meet with a return of most sad and unwelcome answers.

There was another, a taylor (but not in our ship), who while the company he sailed with were engaged,

brought his pressing iron to one of the gunners, and desired him to put it into a piece of ordnance already laden, telling him that he would send it as a token to the Portuguese, withal swearing that he would never work again at his trade ; it pleased God immediately after to sentence him out of his own mouth, and to let his tongue fall upon himself ; for that great piece was no sooner discharged, but a great bullet was returned from the enemy, which struck him dead.

And now, reader, thou may'st suppose us speaking again to our adversary, and he to us, in the hardest and loudest of all dialects, no arguments being so strong as those that proceed from the mouths of guns and points of swords. Our *Charles*, the *Admiral*, played her part first ; and e're she had been at defiance with her enemy half an hour, there came another great shot from him, which, hitting against one of our iron pieces mounted on our half deck, brake it into many little parts, which most dangerously wounded our new commander and the master of our ship, with three others besides, who received several hurts by it. Captain Pepwell's left eye, by a glance of a piece of that broken bullet, was so torn, that it lay like rags upon his cheek ; another hurt by a piece of the same bullet he received on his jaw-bone ; and by another on his head ; and a fourth hurt he received in his leg, a ragged piece of that broken shot sticking fast betwixt the two bones thereof, grating there upon an artery, which seemed by his complaining to afflict him so much, that it made him take very little notice of all the rest of his hurts, it being most true of bodily pains, that the extremity

of a greater pain will not suffer a man much to feel and complain of that which is less ; as that tormenting pain by the tooth-ach makes a man insensible of the aching of his head ; and when the gout and stone surprize the body at once together, the torture by the gout is as it were lost in the extremity of the stone.

And thus was our new commander welcomed to his authority ; we all thought that his wounds would very suddenly have made an end of him, but he lived 'till about fourteen months later, and then died as he was returning for England. I told you before that this man suffered not alone by the scattered pieces of that broken shot, for the master of the ship had a great piece of the brawn of his arm struck off by it, which made him likewise unserviceable for a time, and three others of the common sailors received several and dangerous hurts by it likewise.

The Captain and Master both thus disabled, deputed their authority to the chief master's mate, who behaved himself resolutely and wisely ; so we continued *alternis vicibus*, one after the other, shooting at our adversary, as at a butt, and by three of the clock of the afternoon had shot down her main-mast by the board, her mizen-masts, her fore-top-mast, and moreover had made such breaches in her thick sides, that her case seemed so desperate, as that she must either yield or perish. Her Captain thus distressed stood in for the shore, being not far from the island of Gazidia ; we pursued as far as we durst, without danger of shipwreck, then we sent off a boat with a flag of truce to speak to him, he waved us with another ; upon which Mr. Connick, our chief

Merchant employed in that service, came up to them, and being invited, entered their ship, where he was civilly used, and there he delivered this message to the chief commander and his company, that he had brought them life and peace, if they would accept it, withal telling them that they had deserved so well by their undaunted valour, that if they would put themselves into our hands they should be entertained with all honour and respect; how the ordinary sort of the carrack were taken with this proffer, I know not, yet all this would not work upon that high resolv'd commander, who, like Fabricus in Tully, could not be turn'd in the least measure from his former and firm resolution.

But

‘Duris ut Ilex tonsa bipennibus
Nigrae feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso
Dicit opes animumque ferro.’—HOR.

‘As the lopt holm-tree, that is made
By two edg'd bills to part with shade,
Growing in Algid's fertile grounds,
New life receives, and strength from wounds.’

So he contemning the misery he could not prevent; or like a prun'd hedge, which grown stronger by cutting, answering our messenger thus, that no infelicity should make him alter his first resolution, and therefore must not be talk'd out of the ship; that he would stand off to sea, if possibly he could, and fight us again; and then if fire or sword fore'd him, he might unhappily be taken, but he would never yield; and if we took him alive, he hoped to find the respect of a gentleman,

and 'till then we had our answer. So our messenger was discharged, and shortly after this distressed ship, wanting her wings, was forced by the wind and waves upon the adjacent island of Gazidia, where she stuck fast between two rocks ; those that were left alive in her, by their boats got upon the shore, which when they had all recovered, willing (as it should seem) to destroy what they could not keep, they set her on fire, to make her a coal, rather than we should make her a prize. She was a ship of an exceeding great value in coin and bullion, besides many other rich commodities (if report afterwards abused us not) ; but we got nothing from her but blows, for which she was repaid by us with ruin. The poor distressed Portuguese, after they had left their ship, were most inhumanly used by the barbarous islanders, who spoiled them of all they brought on shore for their succour, some of them finding death in the place they chose to escape it ; and doubtless they had made havock of them all, had they not presently been relieved by two Arabian junks (for so their small ill-built ships are called) there in trade ; which, in hope I suppose of some great reward, took them in, and conveyed them safely to their own city, Goa.

In this sea fight we lost, out of our four ships, but five men ; three out of our *Admiral*, and two out of our *James* ; besides we had about twenty in our whole fleet hurt ; but of seven hundred which sailed in the carrack (for she was a ship of an exceeding great bulk and burthen, our *Charles*, though a ship of a thousand tons, looking but like a pinnace when she was beside

her) there came not near half her company to Goa, as afterward we were informed.

Our *Charles*, in this opposition, made at her adversary, for her part, three hundred and seventy-five great shot (as our gunners reported); to these we had one hundred musketeers, that plied them with small shot all that while; neither was our enemy idle, for our ship received from him at least one hundred great shot, and many of them dangerous ones through the hull. Our fore-mast was pierced through the middle, our main-mast hurt, our main-stay almost spoiled, and many of our main-shrouds cut asunder.



A BOSJESMAN IN ARMOUR

Aquatint by T. Medland after S. Daniell from Barrow's "Travels" (London, 1806)

SIR THOMAS HERBERT

[Sir Thomas Herbert made a picturesque figure in life. When he comes into our story he is in the suite of Sir Dodmore Cotton, the English ambassador to the King of Persia. They sailed in the *Rose* in 1627, and landed at ‘ Soldania Bay,’ now Table Bay, on July 1st, making a stay of nineteen days at the Cape. Cotton and his colleague Sir Robert Shirley both died at Casbin ; but Herbert, in spite of this staggering disaster and in spite of illness, made an extensive tour in the Shah’s dominions before he returned home. Later he was to become famous as the sole attendant of King Charles, sleeping in his prison bed-chamber, and attending him on the scaffold. The king gave him his silver watch as a parting gift, and Herbert helped to bury his master’s body in the royal chapel at Windsor. As a writer Herbert was of the aureate school, in the manner of Lylly, his *Euphues*. Swift called him a coxcomb, and got some local colour for Gulliver out of his amusingly pedantic and garrulous book (*Some Yeares Travels into Divers Parts of Asia and Afrique*, folio 1638).]

I

‘ THE ROAD WORTHILY CALD GOOD HOPE ’

Pen-gwin Ile is 6 or 7 leagues from the continent, which when wee got asterne we grew becalm’d, land-lockt in a sort, and were sported all the way (till we dropt anchor) by Whales, the Seas Leviathan, who after their manner thundreded our welcome into *Aethiopia*, fuzzing or spouting part of the briny Ocean in wanton-

nesse out of their oylie pipes bored by nature atop their prodigious shoulders, like so many floating Ilands concomitating us.

The 1. of *July* wee anchor'd with safety in the *Soldania* Bay, 12 leagues short of the utmost Cape : a Road worthily cald *good Hope*, by King *John* 2. of *Portugall* rejecting that of Tempestuous first imposed by *Gama*, in that if any hither, their *Indian* voyage is halfe done, and the other part lesse solitary, so many excellent Ilands entertaining them.

The *Soldania* Bay is of a semi-lunary forme ; large and safe ; high, 5 or 6 miles from the sea ; towards the shoare, low and fruitfull. Where we pitch our Tents, is a small stremme of Chrystallin water, exceeding sweet, trickling from a mighty mountaine 4 miles from the Sea ; and in a perpendicular eleven thousand eight hundred and sixty foot ;¹ from its resemblance, commonly cald the Table ; the ascent uneasie, but most pleasant at the top, discerning thence 100 miles into the Ocean, and looking SSW. we see the Cape or extreme point of *Africk* 12 leagues off, whose character in the inhabitants seemes long since to be drawne in this same distich.

‘Extremique hominum maris ad vada salsa seorsim
Degimus : ac nobis nemo negocia miscet.’

‘By Salt Seas limited, the Worlds end wee
Inhabit ; none with us to trade agree.’

And from this Table, or from *Herberts* mount (a Piramid adjoyning, like the Sugar loafe, another hill so named) we see Cape *Falso S.* and by E. ten leagues ;

¹ This is a trifle tall, the true height of Table Mountain being 3500 feet.

either of these great Promontories are divided by a Bay, but inconvenient to ride in ; the distance of each Cape is 10 miles from North to South ; either side environed with mountaines so lofty as seeme to penetrate the middle region with their aspiring foreheads, where they find sufficient moysture to coole their ambition ; another river cal'd *Iaquelina*, streames upon the N. side of the roade, halfe a league from our Tents (under King *James* his mount we usually pitch them) broader than our *rio dulce* ; but by a low course and too long sporting with the briny Ocean it tastes brackish and insalubrious ; it is foordable without boate or Elephant, and gives a variety of Shell-fish, as Tortoises, Limpits, Mussels, Cockels, Crabs, Rock-fish, and Mullets, Crafish, Thornback, Gudgeon, Eeeles, &c. The Earth abounds with roots, herbs and grasse aromatique, redolent and beneficiale : such as I took notice of, I may dare to name ; Agrimony, Mynt, Calamint, Betony, Plantain, Ribwort, Spinage, Sorell, Scabious, Holy Thistle, and (of which beware) Coliquintida : all the yeer long, nature roabing the fruitfull earth with her choisest Tapistry, *Flora* seeming to dresse her selfe with artlesse Garlands ; *Alcinoe* and *Tempe* serving as Emblems to this Elysium. *Quamvis enim montosa appareat, & collibus multis distincta, interim tamen multis vallibus, silvis, pratisque decorata est, gramina & flores suavissimè olentes, magna copia producit.* *Cervosque & faeras & leones multo numero nutrit, quae omnia visu & aspectu longe jucundissime existunt : preterea, limpidissimis fontibus scatet quamplurimis, qui non sine gratissimo susurro, de montibus altis prorumpentes,*

*fluminibus sese passim insinuant, & cum eis postmodum
in mare exonerantur.*

The Mountaines, without doubt, abound with Marquisate and all rich Mineralls, which for want of search are yet undilucidated ; the chiefe refreshment we get here is water, bunch-backt Buffolos and Sheep, not of *Iasons* race ; these in leiw of wooll, have haire parti-coloured, long-leg'd, leane bodied, not caus'd by want of pasture, rather from too high feeding, or from restlesse moving with their tripping Masters. But, the land exuberates in many other Animalls. Lyons (which usually steale Beefe out of the sater when Ships are here, fire or a lighted match only scaring them) Dromidaries, Antelopes, Apes, Baboons (venerious ones) Zebrae, Wolves, Foxes, Iackalls, Doggs, Cats, and others ; and in Birds, as Estriches, Vultures, Cranes, and Passe-flemingoes, whose feathers (equallizing the birds of Paradise) are rich crimson and pure white so amiably commixed, that above others it inticed my pains to present it to you, which shall terminate our curiosity touching the earth, & commence an Anatomy lecture of the most savage (of all savage) inhabitants.

II

THE ‘ACCURSED PROGENY OF CHAM’

THE Country is rich and fruitfull in her womb, but owned by an accursed Progeny of *Cham*, who differ in nothing from bruit beasts save forme ; a people by some call'd (metonymically) Caffarrs or Atheists ; Anarchy confounds order, no Prince of power or policie awing them :

each Canton commanded by a Capitaine, not chosen by voice but as force urges it. Captain *Fitz-Herbert* some yeares since ceremoniously devoted the Title to our King, in a memoriall new naming two little rising Mounts 'twixt the Sea and Sugar loafe, King *James* and Prince *Charles* their Mounts (our now dread Soveraigne). Give we an exact *Idea* of the Inhabitants.

Their colour is ugly black, are strongly limbd, desperate, crafty, and injurious. Their heads are long ; their haire, woolly and crispt, no apparell in any place shewing more variety. Some shave one side and leave the other long and curled. Another cuts all away, a little tuft atop, excepted ; a third (thinking his invention best) shaves here and there, the bald scull appearing in many places ; and othersome (not unlike Occasion) shave away all save a lock before, of no use, save ornament. Such as have tufts, or haire, plait brasse buttons, spurre-rowells, pieces of pewter, or what else the mirthfull Sayler exchange for Beefe, Mutton, Woodsorrell, Oestrich egge-shells, little Tortoises, &c. their eares are long, made longer by ponderous Bables they hang there, some using links of brasse, of iron, others have glasse ; beads, chains, blew stones, bullets, or Oyster-shells. And such as cannot reach to such jewells (rather than be without) have singles of Deare, beaks of birds, Doggs or Cats stones, Egg-shells, or the like : their noses are flat, crusht so in their infancie ; great lips, description cannot make them greater ; quick crafty eyes ; and about their necks (in imitation of the Dutch *Commandores* chaines) have guts and raw-puddings, serving both for food and complement,

eating and speaking both together. Yet of late they have got hoopes of iron, and long links of brasse, grasse wreathes, or greasie thongs of stinking leather. Their armes are loaden with voluntary shackles of iron, Jvory, rusty brasse, or musty copper. The rest of their bodies are naked, save that a thong or girdle of raw leather circles them, a square peece (like the back of a Glove) is fastned to it, serving to cover their *pudenda*. But I cannot commend their modesty, the women (upon receipt of anything) returning her gratitudo by discovering her shame, a curtesie taught them by some ill-bred Boore, our men I hope have more civility. The grand Seigniors among them have better cloathing ; a nasty untand hide or skin of a Lyon, Leopard, Calfe, Baboon, or Sheep (the haire inverted) is as a roabe put about their shoulders reaching to their waste, thighes and legges never covered, their feet fastned to a broad peece of leather, tied by a little strap, resembling the Roman *crepidula*, not alwayes worne ; their hands for the most part hold them, not that they feare to weare them out, but that their feet may have their liberty to steale, which with their toes they can doe most daintily, all the while looking you in the face as if they knew not how to deceive any. Most of the men are Semi-Eunuchs, one stone ever being tane away by the Nurse, either to distinguish them from ordinary men, or that Mistresse *Venus* allure them not from *Pallas*. The women also excise themselves, not from a Notion of religion but as an ornament. Both sex, hideously cut, and gash, and pink in sundry works, their browes, nose, cheeks, armes, brest, back, belly, thighes and legges in

Acherontick order : in a word, are so deformed, that if they had studied to become Antick, they might be praised for invention.

Antra lares, dumeta thoros, caenacula rupes. They have no houses, Caves and holes they delight to dwell in, or Lyons dennes, unfurnished, but perfum'd I warrant you, a whole Tribe commonly keeping together, equally villanous, coupling without distinction, the name of wife or brother unknowne among these incestuous Troglodites : feeding, sleeping, speaking all together without order or law ; in the night sleeping round a fire, a Centinell regarding the Lyons their adversaries, 'twixt whom is such hate and strattagems, *Vivitur ex rapto* that one eat the other, the Lyon suddenly tearing some of them, and they other times trayning the Lyons over cover'd pits, which catches them, and so retaliating ; slaying and eating them to-day, who perhaps were Sepulchres to their friends or parents the day before. Other times they dawb and rub their skinne with grease and coale, and so indent it, drying them in the Sunne, by that trick becomming Monsters to all civill eyes that look them upon.

By what I have said, you may imagine their pallats are not very delicate. *Solinus* calls the tawny *Africans*, *Agriophagi* (or Panther and Lyon-eaters), we now call them *Icthio* and *Anthropophagi*, a degree more barbarous than the Lyons, of whom 'tis said, *Mortuorum cadavera non gustant ; quod vivit, corripiunt et ex eo comedunt*. But these Savages eat men alive or dead, as in both kinds many poore men have lamentably made experi-

ence of. Which when they faile of, dead Whales, Seales, Pengwins, grease or raw Puddings diet them. Safety is scarce among themselves, for when the frost of old age benums their vigour, unaptting them to provide their owne food, they either eat them, or leave them destitute of defence upon some Mountain, pittied by none, where famine kills them, or the ravening Lions.

‘Non praematuri cineres, nec funus acerbum
Luxuriae, sed morte magis metuenda senectus.’

‘With these, no violent death nor ’stroying rage
Of Lust, is halfe so dreadfull as old age.’

The lesse to be admired at, for where God is not knowne, what villany is unwarrantable. *Aristotle*: a Heathen (I remember) could make it a maxime. 1 lib. *de coelo*. *Omnis homines Notionem Deorum habent, &c.* And another. *Vniversum genus humanum ubique Terrarum colit Deum verum vel falsum.* Which is beleev’d by most men, and I dare not oppose it. Notwithstanding, though I made all signes, and tried each way possible to discover some spark of devotion, of the knowledge of God, heaven, hell, or immortality; I could not finde any thing that way, no place of worship, no day of rest, no order in Nature, no shame, no truth, no ceremony in births, or burials, meere brutishnesse and stupidnesse wholly shadowing them.

The women give suck, the Vberous dugg stretched over her naked shoulder: the shape of which Soldanias with a landskip of the Table and other Mounts, loe here presented.

Their language is apishly sounded (with whom it is thought they mix unnaturally) the idiom very hard to be counterfeited, some words I gather'd from one of the gravest of them, which (being voyced like the Irish) if I give it hardly to be pronounced, you may excuse mee, in that *Pliny* confesses in the Proem of his *lib. Nat. histor.* That their names and Townes were ineffable, or not to be distinguished. These be *Anonymi* and so more barbarous. Their Arithmetick exceeds not ten. *Istwee* 1. *Istum* 2. *Istgwunny* 3. *Hacky* 4. *Croe* 5. *Istgunny* 6. *Chowhawgh* 7. *Kishow* 8. *Cusho* 9. *Gheshy* 10. A knife *droaf*, a quill *guasaco*, a hatt, *twubba*, a nose *tweam*, a sword *dushingro*, a book *bueem*, a ship *chikunny*, water *chtammey*, brasse *hadderchereef*, a skin *gwummey*, a bracelet *whohoop*, eggshells *sun*, seales *harkash*, a woman *traqueosh*, bread *bara*, give me *quoy*, the yard *gwammey*, stones *wchraef*, womb *wchieep*, paps *semigwe*, geniter *Istcoom*, &c.

To draw to an end (lest *Mindus* gates be opened) many beasts we got here for refreshment, such and the good sallads and baths quickly recurring above 300 of our men (till their landing) nigh dead of the scurvie. *Anno 1600* Sir *James Lancaster* had 1000 Sheep and 50 Oxen for Trifles. Wee had no want, and might have had more but for a trick the Hollanders put upon our Nation; riding here with our Colours out, and killing some of the people when they had got their ends, that at our arrivall wee might be the baselier used; they traine their cattell to such obedience, as with a Call or Whistle (impossible to be counterfeited) a great Heard will follow them like dogges,

and being sold, with a like Call will as readily runne after them, to the purchasers costly mirth and admiration ; a deceit so long so unjustly acted, that now (to prevent them) our men upon delivery of each beast, either kill it quickly, or fasten their hornes with cords to stakes plac'd here of purpose : and to say truly, by the friendship and good dealing our men use to them (*Nomen amicitiae barbara corda movet*) our esteeme among them is more gratiouse than of Portugall, Dane, or Flemmin.

Their Art in Warre is guided by disorder, their weapon no other than a Javelin headed with iron, and directed by some feathers, which they take off and on at pleasure ; some quarrels happend (by some mens indiscretion) twixt us and them, and I know a dozen Musquets will chase 1000, at every discharge falling downe as thunder-struck. Yet let me advise our Men to avoid needlesse bravadoes, and not contemne them from their indefensive nakednesse, or by a supercilious conceit of their owne weapons and field practises. *Exempla docent.* *Almeyda* the bravest Captaine the Portugals ever had, after many glorious atchievements in *Asia* and *Africk*, thought invincible, and returning home anno 1510 out of India : Hee, eleven Captaines and many other gallant men, upon a small affront putting some of the Savages to death (who grew desperate in revenge) were set upon by these naked Barbarians, and slaine every one of them. *Qui* (saith *Osorius*) *cumper medias flamas, per pilus innumera-biles, per tela, per gladios, sine ulla formidinis signifi-catione ruentes, maximum terrorem hostibus intulissent*

et insignes victorias contra annumerabiles inimicos adepti-fuissent, tunc à paucis hominibus inermibus at nudis imperfecti et spoliati fuerunt. And as simple as they seeme, they are witty enough in craft, revenge and villany. I will end all in a succinct character *Salvian libro de vero judicio* has made of all the Africans. *Omnes quippe gentes habent sicut peculiaria mala, it a etiam quaedam bona; in Afris pene omnibus insunt omnia mala inhumani, impuri, ebriosi, falsissimi, fraudulentissimi, cupidissimi, perfidissimi, & obscoenis labidinum omnium impuritati & blasphemias addiftissimi, &c.*

THE CAPE ARCHIVES

[I am unfortunately unable in this little volume to do anything like justice to the Cape Archives. A large part of them was translated and edited by their keeper the Rev. H. C. V. Leibbrandt, but there is much still remaining in manuscript. Of the printed portion Van Riebeeck's Journal is the most famous, and here my summary in the *Romance of South Africa* may help readers. Van Riebeeck's successors continued the practice of a full and frank journal in which nothing is too trivial and nothing too intimate to be recorded. The *Letters Received and Despatched* and the *Placaaten*, etc., also contain a large amount of valuable historical material. It is a pity that these wonderful archives have never been worthily printed.]

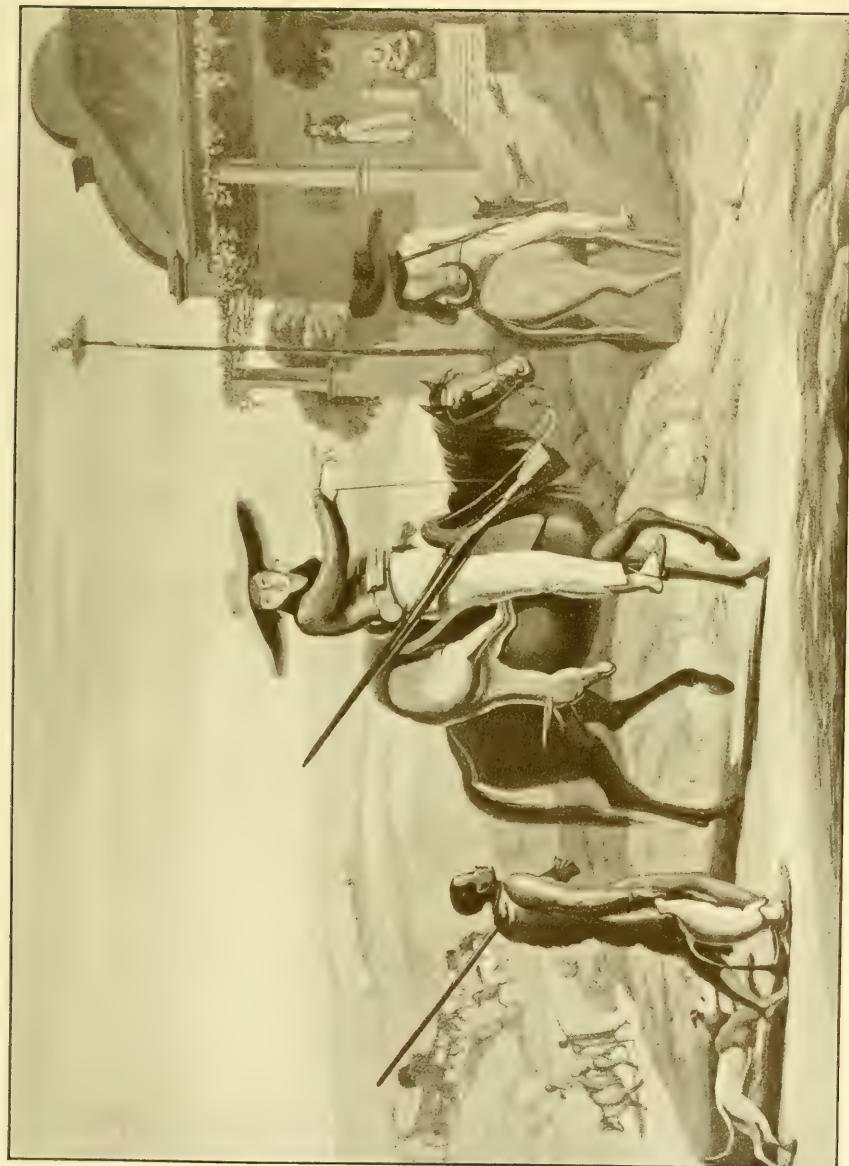
I

A ROW IN THE GUARD-HOUSE

1653. 19th November.—The undersigned declare that they heard and saw that Adriaen, the Provost Marshal, being drunk, had wished to go to bed above the guard-house, in which, as he stated, he was prevented by the men who were upstairs; and that having complained to Marcus, the Corporal, who was likewise drunk, and had the watch, the said Corporal went upstairs and with his cane commenced beating the men indiscriminately without knowing who had prevented the Provost from going to bed. That the men, seeing that they were being beaten without cause,

BOOKS RETURNING FROM HUNTING

From Samuel Daniell's "African Scenery" (London, 1804-05)



commenced to cry out and ask what it meant, as they had not done it. That upon this the Corporal went down again, and the Provost went to bed without being molested by anybody. That a little while after Gerrit Fagels went down for some business—he had been innocently beaten by the Corporal upstairs—and that when going through the passage he was again beaten by the Corporal, who said : ‘ There is Gerrit Fagels, who believes that nobody dares to thrash him.’ That upon this Fagels said : ‘ You beat me unjustly as you did to Febus upstairs.’ That upon that he went outside, and, on his return, went to bed, thinking that everything was at an end. That then the Corporal again commenced with his cane. That upon this the Cadet Symon Huybrechts, roused by the improper proceedings of the Corporal who had no cause to continue beating Fagels, kindly took the Corporal round the neck and said : ‘ Do not beat the man any more, as he is innocent.’ That the Corporal, however, would not listen, and continued beating Fagels, who, being in his shirt, could stand it no longer, and after a severe struggle managed to get outside. That the Corporal then dropped his cane at the door, which Symon returned to him, but that he was angrily asked : ‘ What have you to do with my cane ? do you wish to usurp the command ? ’ The Corporal at the same time lifting it on high in a threatening manner. That Symon, fearing that the Corporal would strike him, seized it by the end, but that the Corporal forcibly wrenched it out of his hand and at the same time drawing his sword in great wrath endeavoured to stab

Symon, but missing him, the weapon stuck fast in a pole standing near ; that the Corporal had to draw it out with great force, and that thereupon lifting it again he struck Symon with it, who cried ‘ Holloa ! Corporal ! you are not in earnest ! ’ That the latter again struck out and wounded Symon, but that in consequence of the darkness and the number of men who rushed towards the spot we could not see the wound given. That many then came near, and that the Corporal Jan van Gulick and Dirck Gerrits, Lance-corporal, also approached and with sweet words calmed down their comrade. And that Symon, finding himself wounded, quietly slipped outside to have his wound dressed by one of the surgeons. Signed by Johannes Claassen and three others. Declaration affirmed by oath on the 27th November 1653.

II

EVA'S STORIES

1657. 30th October.—The Commander spent most of the day communicating with the Saldanhars, by means of a girl named Eva, about fifteen or sixteen years old, since the arrival of the Dutch in the service of Mrs. Riebeeck, and already speaking Dutch very well. We gathered that there was an emperor or king, who ruled over all the Cape natives, and called by them Chobona. He lives far inland, and is rich in gold, which they called ‘ Chory,’ and which is taken out of sand. They also know how to coin and stamp the coins, which they made as big as, or even bigger than, the palms of the

hands. These people were represented to be very fond of red copper and red beads. They had large houses of stone and beams, sowing white rice and planting all kinds of vegetables. They also wore clothes, and spoke another language than those nearer the Cape, who were all subject or tributary to this Chobona. They were known to us as the Saldanhars, and by this nation as 'Quena,' being of one language and dress. An army of the Chobona keeps them under proper control, and punishes all rebels. This army is of the same nation, dress and language as the Saldanhars, and called Kochoqua. It consists of two sections. The second one is called the Gorona, which has nothing else to do than to fight the rebels, and this keeps them constantly busy. They are not successful in their object, as some do not wish to pay the homage to the Chobona which he requires as his right. These Kochoqua and Gorona are consequently always engaged in war. When killed they are succeeded by their children, brothers, and also sisters. The chief from whom we had bought the three oxen told us that one of his wives had lived in the house of the Chobona, and been educated there. She was, therefore, a great friend of this big man, and he told us that his wife had worn in her ears, round her neck and fingers, golden ornaments. Riebeeck immediately asked that he should bring hither his wife or one of her ornaments. He replied that she could not move, being accustomed only to remain at home, and to be served by other young women. Walking would hurt her feet. He was offered a fine wagon to fetch her, but answered that she would die of fear if

she saw the Dutchmen. Riebeeck even offered to go himself, but this also would not do. As he intended to leave to-morrow he was asked whether he required any escort towards the Chobona, which might also invite other people to visit us. He declined this offer, stating that if his friends heard that he had Dutchmen with him they would all run away and kill their cattle by over-driving, for though they had heard of us they knew nothing of our good nature as he did. This is his second visit. Herry and the Caapmen had spoken only evil of our people wherever they went, but he would try and come to us with all his tribe, to make them gradually accustomed to us. After that he might undertake to journey to the Chobona with some of our men.

The chief living towards the East belonged to the Chainunquas, called so after their great chief Chaynunqua, who was very rich in cattle and the subject of the Chobona with the rest, some of whom were dissatisfied and rebellious, viz. :—

The Charingurina, who had run away from our people and again returned, as stated in our notes of the 29th inst. They are fairly subject to the Chobona, and war with the Chaynunqua for some private reason or other, as in Europe princes quarrel with each other who are all under one emperor. At present they were all agreed to live in peace until all had during the season conducted their trade with us, but no longer. They would therefore molest no natives accompanied by Hollanders, in order not to injure the latter. Anything of the kind they were bound to avenge. There

seems to be some truth in this, as their fighting has ceased since our men arrived among them. A person should not, however, believe these things too readily, and expose himself to danger by being too credulous.

The 'Kaygunna,' great friends of the 'Gaynunqua,' and obedient subjects of the Chobona, rich in cattle, and mostly dwelling towards the East.

The 'Chancumqua' also from the East, rich and numerous, also one of the principal chiefs of the Chobona.

'Charigruqua and Kainguqua' rich and numerous, also living towards the East; subjects and friends of the Chobono.

'Namana,' living towards the North, also rich and courting the favour of the Chobona.

'Oengayqua,' living between the East and North, very powerful and rich, consequently they object to acknowledge the Chobona. The Kochehoqua army have consequently their hands full with these people, it being their duty, as stated above, to make war on such rebels at once. It seems, however, that these Oengayqua do not take much notice of the one or the other.

'Chorachouqua' are the tobacco thieves, the fellows who stole the tobacco out of the freemen's gardens; very hostile to the Chobona. As, however, he is very limited in numbers, he is often severely punished; but in spite of this he is often renewing his game, consequently many of his tribe are living among the Caapmen.

'Goringaycona,' Caapmen; Choeringaina, Herry and all the Watermen—all of them rebels and also convicts of the Chobona, but as the Kochoqua have their

hands full with the Ongayqua and others, these people, being far away and poor, have not been interfered with, excepting when some of the others come their way, when they are driven into holes and corners. This chief's party, however, had now made friends with them, thinking that that course would be satisfactory to us.

The 'Soanqua' are robbers, subject to none, and depending upon their arrows and assegays, treacherously robbing their neighbours of their cattle and their wives. This stealing of women in war seems to be general among all the natives, every one boasting of the number captured by him. The reason seems to be to increase their numbers by breeding; even the wife of the Chaynoqua chief is no native Chobonar, but has been taken by Chobonar from one of the chief rebels among these tribes, and brought up in his house, as she was a great lady. She was afterwards given to him as his wife, a favour highly esteemed as one of great honour. By such means, giving wives out of his own house, the Chobona connects all tribes with his.

III

EVA'S EPITAPH

1674. 29th July.—This day departed this life, a certain female Hottentoo, named Eva, long ago taken from the African brood in her tender childhood by the Hon. van Riebeeck, and educated in his house as well as brought to the knowledge of the Christian faith, and being thus transformed from a female Hottentoo

almost into a Netherland woman, was married to a certain Chief Surgeon of this Residency, by whom she had three children still living, and some others which have died. Since his death, however, at Madagascar, she had brought forth as many illegitimate ones, and for the rest led an irregular life, that for a long while the desire would have existed of getting rid of her, had it not been for the hope of conversion of this brutal aboriginal, which was always still hovering between. Hence in order not to be accused of tolerating her adulterous and debauched life, she had at various times been relegated to Robben Island, where, though she could obtain no drink, she abandoned herself to immorality. Pretended reformation induced the authorities many times to call her back to the Cape, but as soon as she returned, she, like the dogs, always returned to her own vomit, so that finally she quenched the fire of her sensuality by death (*door de lijdelucke doot*), affording a manifest example that nature, however closely and firmly muzzled by imprinted principles, nevertheless at its own time triumphing over all precepts, again rushes back to its inborn qualities.

30th July.—The body of the deceased Hottentoo, Eva, was, notwithstanding her unchristian life, buried to-day according to Christian usage in the church of the new castle.

IV

PIETER MEERHOFF AND THE NAMAQUAS

1661. On the 18th (February) we travelled NW. and arrived in a valley, where we saw some prospect. We

saw level country. Between W. and N. we could see no more mountains. We marched about three miles and reached a kraal where the Namaquas had lain about three or four weeks previously. Here we rested. The rest of the day we spent in ascending one hill after another to see whether we could not find what we sought, but we found no Namaquas. Everywhere we saw old kraals near new ones where they had camped with numerous herds of cattle and sheep. Towards evening we observed a fire on a mountain WSW. of us. I, Pieter Meerhoof, then, with two Hottentooos, proceeded thither. But when we had proceeded about half way Donckeman called out 'Meester' Pieter, Namaqua.' I looked up and counted twenty-three, who were standing on the rocks and looking at us. I went up a little higher, but the Hottentooos who were with me became very frightened. They took their shoes off their feet and wished to run back, saying, 'Namaqua Boeba, Krosmoscoqua.' I took my spy-glass to see whether it was so. I saw that they were armed with dry hides and had a skin hanging over their left arm, with bow and arrow on their shoulders and in each hand an assegay. I gave kind words to my Hottentooos, telling them not to be afraid, as the Namaquas would do us no harm. I promised them something if they accompanied me, but if they did not wish to do so, I would tell it to 'Mijnheer' (Riebeeck) as soon as I arrived at the Cape. They could from terror hardly say a single word when I said that. Finally they went with me. Having reached the top, we could not discover what had become of the Namaquas, or where

they had concealed themselves among the rocks. I ordered the Hottentooos to call out to them that they should come to us and that we would give them tobacco, beads, and brass, but we received no answer. I waited there half an hour on a mountain thinking that they would come to us. But I could wait no longer ; night was setting in, and it was quite dark before I rejoined my men. We hoped, however, that they would visit us the next day if they cared to see us.

On the 19th we decided to lie quiet during the forenoon, hoping that they would come to us, which they did. About 10 o'clock we saw them where they had been the night before. They came down a little lower, and we commenced to call out that they should come to us as we would do them no harm. They then came a little nearer and we again called out to them, until seven of them approached us within musket range, the rest remaining in the bush. I made my Hottentooos go forward to meet them. The Namaquas thereupon went to sit down on the one side of a marsh and our Hottentooos on the other. They then called to each other a long time before the former would come nearer. At last they came, when I, Pieter van Meerhoff, having put a pipe of tobacco in my mouth, went to meet them to see whether they had any knowledge of tobacco. As soon as I was among them one immediately came, took the pipe out of my mouth and began to smoke. He had more than once been among the Cape Hottentooos. I accompanied them to their camp and asked them through Donckeman whether they were chiefs, because they were dressed in such costly fashion, as more fully

narrated below. Donckeman asked one of the most inferior-looking among them who was the King of the Namaquas. He was pointed out to me, but even without that sufficiently distinguishable, as he is a man like a giant, much taller than Cattibou, the biggest slave of the Company, stationed at the 'Schuur.' We immediately gave them bread, which they ate with relish. After having eaten I gave each a clean pipe with tobacco. They certainly wished to smoke, but most of them were unable. The King, instead of drawing the smoke towards him, blew it away from him. I took his pipe four or five times and showed him how to do it. Gradually he got in the right way, and while we were here they all began to learn, both men and women, so that they commenced to be fond of tobacco. We let the King see all our goods, which pleased him much, especially the copper staves and tobacco. I presented the King with an imitation gold hatband and some French beads. His son I gave a gilt chain, all which they civilly accepted. The King made the interpreter tell us that we were to visit him to-morrow at his house, which was about half a day's journey from where we were. We asked that one or two of his people might remain with us to show us the way. This he allowed, leaving us two of his men. He then left, but when he had rejoined the men who had remained behind in the bush, he sent two more men to us, and these four remained with us until the following day.

On the 20th we proceeded towards the King's residence, proceeding westwards over the back of a stony mountain range; after that we marched SW. across

two or three sand downs, then reached a sandy valley where their kraal was situated. When we were nearing the kraal the King and his three sons, who were also tall fellows like their father, came forth to meet us. They showed us a spot alongside their kraal where we might camp. We selected a spot near two high rocks, packed our goods on a heap, and sent the oxen out to graze, but there was little grass to be had, as they have a mighty number of cattle. We gave each of the four who had shown us the way a bunch of beads and some tobacco. The King, his sons, and three captains sat with us. We gave them each a chain of French beads as a welcome, which they courteously accepted. I also gave the King a glass (soopje) of brandy. He at once sent for a fat calf, and his sons also ordered a sheep to be brought. They told us that they made a present of them to us, and that we were to eat lustily of the same, and when we had consumed them they would send us more. At first we did not like to accept them for nothing, hence we made them a present of a staff of copper, a bunch of red beads, and a piece of tobacco. They then left for their kraal. When I, Pieter Meerhoff, had rested a little I went into their camp. The King sent word to me that I was to come into his house. I did so, and when I arrived there he at once had a beautifully prepared skin spread for me on which I was to sit. The skin was as soft as long cloth. The King ordered a large wooden bowl with sweet milk to be brought in, on which he regaled me. I gave him some more French beads, which he kindly accepted. At once they hung them around their necks.

I took out my tobacco box and made them smoke, and I made our interpreter tell the King that all this was but a mere sample, that there was enough at the Cape of everything that he might desire if he would only be pleased to visit us there. He replied that he could not come just yet, as he had first to do battle with Oedasoa, or make peace with him, and that there were also some Soaquas whom he had to destroy. After that he would come to the Cape. I requested him to allow some of his men to accompany us, offering to leave a Dutchman with him as a hostage until we had brought them back. The Dutch Captain would give them what they liked if he only saw them, but he replied that at present he could not spare any of his men as he intended to look up the Soaquas. Towards evening the King's son brought us another sheep and a young goat which we were obliged to accept. We once more presented each with a copper stave and a piece of tobacco. During the greater part of the afternoon the King sat with us, and we treated them on bread, mutton, and tobacco. Towards evening the King ordered a 'triumph' to be blown (*triumph blasen*). I stood near, and it was done as follows. From one to two hundred persons formed a circle, each had a hollow reed in his hand, some were long, some short, some thick, and some thin. One stood in the centre with a long stick and sang, the others blew on the reeds and danced around, performing fine actions with their feet. The women danced round the ring, and the sound was as if one heard trumpets blowing. The King sat on his chair, a little distance off. This chair is a round piece of wood three or four

fingers thick, beautifully ornamented with beads, and is generally carried with them wherever they go. This amusement lasted about two hours and consisted of all sorts of dances. They then left off, and the King accompanied us to our camp, where he smoked a few pipes of tobacco. Darkness coming on he went back to his house. The blowing of trumpets then recommenced and lasted about three or four hours in the night, when they went to sleep.

Here follows a sketch of their mode of life and manner of dress :—

In the first place, where the King has his house, they have made their camp like the Hottentoo's at the Cape. Their huts are also covered with mats. Seventy-three huts stand in a circle. Outside of this kraal are three other huts, and those occupying them have no cattle. They are like messengers who run from one kraal to the other, wherever the King wishes to send them. Their furniture consists of large wooden bowls, hollowed out of one solid block and having narrow necks ; they also have gourds which can contain from 20 to 30 quarts of fluid, and which grow in the country. In them they collect their milk, whilst they churn in the large bowls (*pullen*). The King is named Akembie, and about 60 or 70 years old ; when he speaks he does so in well-considered words. Their dress consists of all kinds of beautifully prepared skins of tigers, leopards, and rock rabbits, splendidly prepared and gorgeously ornamented with copper beads. They have hair on their heads like that of the Hottentoo's at the Cape, but some have locks as long as those of a

Dutchman ; these locks they thread with copper beads, covering their heads all over. Around their necks they have chains slung round them fifteen or sixteen times. Many have round copper plates suspended from the chains. On their arms they have many copper and iron rings promiscuously. Around their middle they have chains of copper and iron beads which go round their bodies thirty or forty times. Before their nakedness each one has an ivory plate hanging. Their legs are encased in plaited skins, ornamented with beads. They consist of 300 well-built men and 400 women and children. They live mostly on their cattle, consisting of about 4000, with at least 3000 sheep. They often hunt, as may be seen from the skins in their possession. Their only industry is working in copper and iron, from which they make very neat beads and chains ; they also prepare fine hides and skins. When they go to war they have shields of double ox-hides, which are dry. The latter are so large that they can completely shelter themselves behind them. Their arms are assegays, bows and arrows. They are very kindly disposed towards our nation, and are besides very faithful, so that we have experienced nought but friendship from them. This is what I have been able to gather regarding the habits of this nation. As regards the country, it consists of nothing else than sand downs covered with 'cripple' bush and thorns. Here and there is a valley in which they reside. I have reason to believe that farther inland there is better country. They are at present lying here because of the war.

THE SLAVES AND THE SHEPHERD

1707. 17th December.—The following sentences were carried out:—Whereas Augustyn of Batavia, 21-22 years old; Titus and Aaron of Cochin, 35-36 and 10-11, the latter known as little Aaron; Marie of Madagascar (large Marie), 18-20, slaves of the burgher M. Ley; Marie of Bengal (small Marie), 20-21, slave of the burgher H. Meyboom; Antonie of Bengal, 30, slave of the burgher F. van der Lind; Aaron of Cochin (large Aaron), slave of the burgher Matthys Wigman, 25-26; and Jannetje of the Cape, slave of the assistant Elias Kina, 16-17 years old, now prisoners, did confess, &c., that about ten or eleven weeks ago they had absconded on a Sunday night, in order to proceed to Madagascar; that for the purpose they took with them a bayonet, ‘plumper,’ four or five knives, four loaves, a large flat cheese, a bottle of brandy, and some clothes of the assistant G. van Baarsenburg; that the same night they arrived with two infants of the two Maries, in the kloof beyond the ridge of the Wind or Devil’s Mountain, where they remained seven days until the Sunday evening; that they then decided to leave; that Augustyn, large Aaron, Titus, Antonie, and large Marie preceded, followed by Jannetje, small Marie and small Aaron carrying some goods some way behind; that the latter waited for the former at the Salt River near the poles, who before crossing had met the slave herd of Joh. Heuffken lying in the veld in charge of the sheep; that the four boys thereupon, in the pre-

sence of Marie and at the suggestion of Augustyn, decided to kill him, and so more safely obtain some sheep for their sustenance ; that Augustyn attacked the herd when he awoke and looked about for his sheep, and held him by the hair ; that large Aaron assisting, pulled his feet under him ; that the herd then fell, and Titus also joining, his hands were bound ; that the latter having rolled up his handkerchief gave it to Augustyn who forced it into the mouth of the over-powered herd in order to prevent him from making a noise ; that thereupon Augustyn cut the throat of the helpless sufferer, tore out the larynx and threw it on the ground ; that having murdered the herd in the presence of Marie, they turned out his pockets and took from them a small white bag with money, concealing the body in the rushes about twenty yards away ; that hindered by some persons seen on the road not far away, the five prisoners crept away through the bushes without taking any sheep with them ; that they then took their course through Salt River at the poles, and so joined Jannetje, small Marie, and small Aaron, when Augustyn divided the money among them,—the four murderers giving to big Aaron and Antonie each eight, and to Titus six shillings, keeping the rest uncounted for himself ; that all spent the night in the bushes near the beach, and after wandering about the veld some time, they observed in the ‘ Groene Kloof ’ a European having with him two dogs and a gun on his shoulder ; that the four big boys then first sharpened their knives on a flat stone and then pocketed them ; that the eight then proceeded towards the man, the four

first with the determination to kill him ; that when they had reached him, they asked for some water to drink ; that the European brought them to a fountain ; that all drank from it ; that Augustyn asked the man for a pipe of tobacco, which he obtained ; that the four big boys smoked it in turns sitting on the ground ; that when the European was loading his gun and standing erect, Augustyn, Titus, Antonie, and big Aaron attacked him so violently that the gun went off during the wrestle without injuring any one ; that the four threw the European on the ground ; that Antonie held his legs ; that the European, urgently begging for his life, promised to let them go and not capture them ; that Titus again rolled up the Handkerchief used against the murdered herd, and gave it to Augustyn who forced it into the mouth of the European that he might make no outcry ; that Jannetje, who with little Marie and little Aaron stood some yards off, said in consequence of the miserable wailing of the European, to the first-named prisoner, ‘Augustyn ! let the man loose, there are people coming,’ although she had seen or perceived no one ; that Augustyn as head and captain, wishing to proceed with his murderous work, answered, ‘Maski, though three or four may come I am not afraid’ ; that Augustyn and big Aaron struck with their knives at the man’s neck ; that the victim kicked Antonie, who held his feet, so that he fell backward ; that thereupon getting angry he struck him with a soldier’s cutlass in the thigh whilst Augustyn was cutting his throat ; that big Marie held the European’s hand with both her own by order of

Augustyn ; that Titus sat on his body ; that the miserable sufferer, so cruelly and ferociously treated, found his hand let loose by Marie ; that Augustyn and Aaron ripped up his stomach below the navel and took out the entrails ; that Titus threw them away ; that Augustyn cut off the murdered man's left hand and threw it away ; that thereupon the four big boys lifted him by the legs and cut off the flesh from the hips ; that they then by turns smashed all the bones with the gun and threw them away separately ; that consequently the gun was broken ; that Augustyn broke his knife and wounded his hand while they were still busy giving the body some stabs in the face ; that little Aaron, who was afraid and could not bear to witness this murderous work, stood some distance off with Jannetje and little Marie ; that little Marie clapped her hands whilst beholding this horrible work, and called to Augustyn ‘tyn bon, tyn bon, Augustyn ! tyn bon !’ that they had treated this European so cruelly that he should not be recognised, and to make people believe that he had been killed by a wild beast ; that after this damnable and barbarous murder and cruel conduct they removed to some distance from the body, and sat down in the veld ; that Augustyn cut and ate some figs with his bloody knife and hands ; that thereupon Jannetje seeing it said to him—‘Fie, Augustyn ! why do you not wash the knife ?’ that Augustyn replied—‘Maski, I wish to drink that blood also, for then I become strong’ ; that this was confirmed by Aaron, who said ‘that is true’ ; that the eight prisoners with their two small children thereupon went to Saldanha

Bay, and were captured by the Company's postholder and some Hottentots ; that Jannetje a few days later, after having been told that they were to be taken to the Cape, confessed both murders ; that at the suggestion of Augustyn they had finally decided, if it could not be otherwise, only to confess the last murder ; and that at last they were brought prisoners to the Castle. All this being too frightful, cruel, unheard of, horrible and barbarous murders which make the hair of a rational being stand on end, and his entrails to shudder and freeze,—perpetrated by the prisoners named, in the most inhuman, abominable, and blood-thirsty manner on a sleeping herd who had not molested them in the slightest manner, and on a European, from whom they had received nothing but kindness—a cruel murder accompanied with desertion and theft, the first cause of their misdeeds—they having had no other object than stealing and murdering—evident from the stolen articles carried with them, and in truth crimes of the most horrible consequences, crying for vengeance, and which in a land where justice and righteousness maintained as pillars of the public peace, are administered and upheld, may not be tolerated, suffered, or connived at, but must be punished with the utmost rigour and the severest death punishment conceivable ; therefore the Court, &c., decides that the prisoners shall be brought to the place of execution ; that Augustyn, Titus, big Aaron, and Antonie shall be placed on the wheel and receive eight blows, being broken alive without the mercy stroke ; that the flesh of Augustyn shall be pinched out from four distinct

parts of his body with red-hot tongs ; and that all shall remain lying so on the wheel until they have given up the ghost ; that big Marie shall be strangled with a cord through a pole until dead, and the five dead bodies left on a wheel at the outside place of execution until destroyed by the birds of the air. Jannetje, little Marie, and little Aaron to stand under the gallows with the halter round their necks and behold the execution, and after that to be scourged ; the two female slaves to be branded on the cheek and sent home in chains. The Court to pay the costs of the five first prisoners, and the owners those of the three last. (Signed by) J. C. d'Ableing, O. Berg, A. v. Reede, J. Swellengrebel, W. v. Putten, K. J. Slotsboo, J. Brommert, C. Botma, H. Donker, A. Poulle, Secretary.

THE JESUIT FATHER GUY TACHARD

[The Jesuit Father Guy Tachard, with five other Jesuits, was sent by King Louis XIV. on a scientific expedition to China and the Indies. They arrived at the Cape in June 1685, and were well received by the famous governor Simon Van der Stel and the Company's Commissioner, the great Adrian Van Rheege. The account of the visit appears in the *Voyage de Siam*. (Quarto, Paris, 1685; Eng. trs. 12mo, 1688.) There is also a *Second Voyage* (Paris, 1689). It is a pleasant little story of kindly feeling and enthusiasm for learning, breaking down the reserve set up by difference in language, religion, and nationality; but it has an unpleasant sequel in the Archives, where we find Van der Stel severely reproved by the Directors for showing such open kindness to the French, who might have been spies, and might even have betrayed the settlement.]

I

A VISIT TO SIMON VAN DER STEL

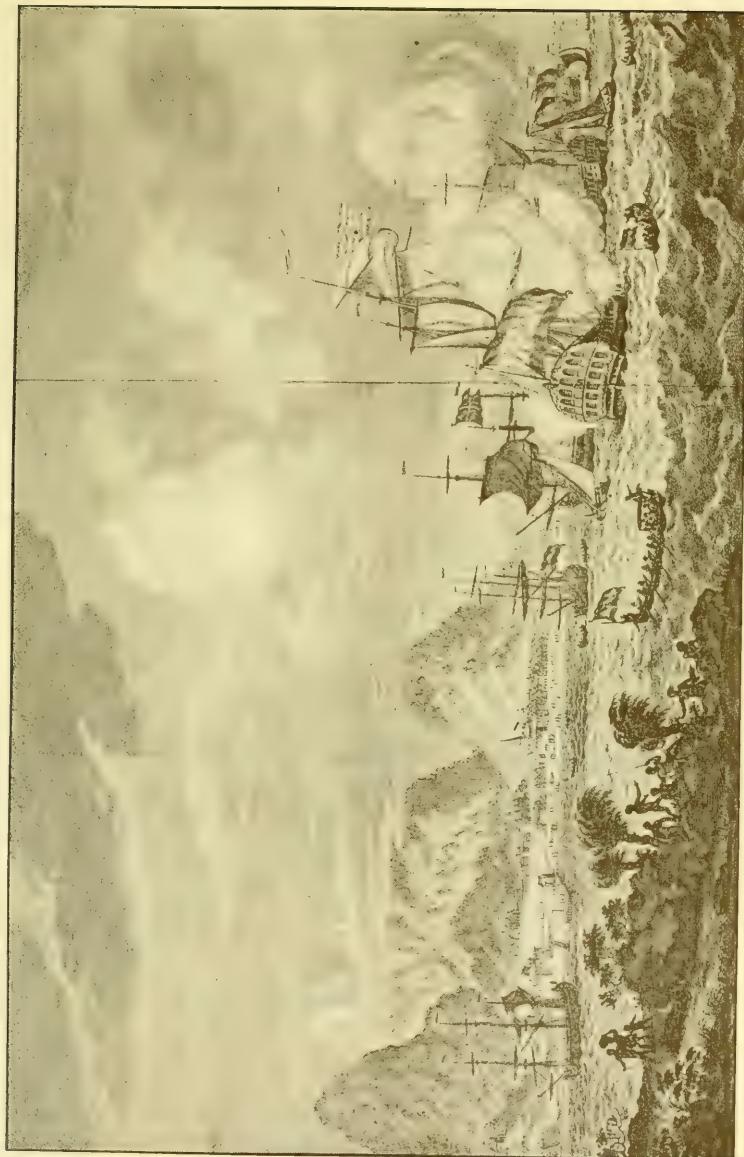
As soon as we arrived in the Bay, we found it to be so proper a Place for making Observations, that we instantly resolved to use all means that we might observe: For that end there was a necessity of taking a commodious House, carrying thither our Instruments, and haveing leisure to ply it both Day and Night during the short time we had to stay there. There was difficulty in this; Jesuits, Mathematicians, and several Instruments carried ashore might offend the Nicety of

a Dutch Commander, in a pretty new Colony, and make him suspect something else than what we pretended. Nay, we were advised to disguise ourselves, and not to appear to be Jesuits ; but we did not think it fit, and we found by what followed, that our Habit did us no Injury at all.

After we had a little considered on 't, it was resolved, that Father *Fontenay* and I, should go visit the Commissary General and the Governor of the Place before the rest went ashore, and that if in Discourse we found occasion to open our Design, we should lay hold on it. We went strait to the Fort then without any other Recommendation : The Sentinel stopt us at the first Gate, according to the Custom of Garrison-places, until an Officer of the Guard being come, and having informed himself that we were come to pay a Visit to the Commissary General and Governor, he commanded us to be let in, and gave us a Soldier to conduct us to their Apartment.

This House consists of a large Pile of Building, two Storys high, and very solidly built. It is covered with a very fair Tarrafs, paved with broad free Stone, with Balconies and Iron Rails all round ; thither they commonly go to take the fresh Air. This Country has so temperate an Air, that it is never very cold there, but when a South Wind blows ; and though it was the depth of Winter then in relation to that Climate, yet it was so hot in the Day time, that they were glad to go take the fresh Air in the Evening.

We went first into a great Hall where they preach every Sunday until the Church be finished that was



ROADSTEAD OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

Painted by H. Kobbelt, junr., engraved by S. Fokke from a Beschrijving van de Kaap (Amsterdam, 1777)

begun to be built without the Fort. On both sides of that Hall there are pretty handsome Apartments ; they had us in to that which was on the Left-hand, where we were received by *Monsieur Vanderstel*, and whither presently after the *Heer Van Rheeden* came to see us. He is a Man of Quality about fifty years of age, Handsome, Civil, Wise, and Learned, and who thinks and speaks well on all Subjects ; we were extreamly surprised to meet with so much Politeness at the *Cape of Good-hope*, and much more at the Civilities and many Testimonies of Friendship which we received at that first Interview. Father *Fontenay*, whose Interpreter I was at that time in *Portuguese*, finding so lucky Dispositions for our Design, told the Commissary General that there were six Jesuits of us who were bound for the *Indies* and *China*, that not being at all accustomed to the Fatigues of Sea, we stood in need of taking a little air on Land, that we might be recruited after so long a Voyage ; that we durst not do so, before we knew their Minds, whether they would be contented with it or not. The Commissary General did not suffer me to interpret all that Father *Fontenay* had said to him, but presently interrupting me : You 'l do us the greatest pleasure imaginable, Fathers, said he, in *Portuguese*, to come and refresh yourselves at Land, we will contribute all that lies in our Power to your Refreshment and Recovery.

This Answer was so favourable that we went a little farther ; we told him, that being ashore, we should be glad to employ our selves for the publick Good, and then to communicate to him our Observations ; thereby

to acknowledge in some manner the Civilities that he had shown us ; that we had brought with us from *France* several Mathematical Instruments, amongst which there were some very proper for finding out the true Longitude of Countries through which one passed, without any need of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon ; we explained to him the new way of observing by the *Satellites of Jupiter*, of which the Learned Monsieur *Cassini* hath made so good Tables. I added that thereby we would render a very considerable Service to their Pilots, by giving them the certain Longitude of the Cape of *Good-hope* which they only guessed at by their reckoning, a very doubtful way that many times deceive them, and that very considerably too. He told us that we would thereby oblige him, and that seeing we had a mind to labour in that Discovery, he offered us a Place every way proper for observing. At the same time he ordered a Summer-house that is in the Companies Garden to be made ready for us to lodge in, so long as the Ambassador should continue in the Road.

We made Answer that the Civility which he shew'd us should not rest there, and that we hoped my Lord Ambassador would have the goodness to thank him, and take it as a Kindness done partly to himself. Then we shew'd him our Patents for being the King's Mathematicians. You increase my Joy, Fathers, replied the Commissary, in letting me see that I comply with the Will and Orders of so great a King, for whom I shall entertain a profound Respect so long as I live. However I am not vexed that you did not speak to

me of that before I obliged you to accept of a Lodging, which I offer you freely, and with all my heart. They brought us *Tea*, as it is the Custom amongst the People of the East-Indies, and after a pretty long Conference about indifferent Matters, we took leave of these Gentlemen, and withdrew. The Commander followed us to conduct us to the Apartment that was offered us in the Companies great Garden.

We were mightily surprised to find one of the loveliest and most curious Gardens that ever I saw, in a Country that looks to be one of the most dismal and barren Places in the World. It lies above the Habitations betwixt the Town and the *Table-Land*, and on the side of the Fort, from which it is but about two hundred Paces distant. It is fourteen hundred and eleven common Paces in length, and two hundred thirty five in breadth. The beauty of it consists not as in *France*, in Compartments, Beds of Flowers, nor Waterworks. They might have them if the *East-India* Company would be at the Charges of it ; for a Brook of running Water falling from the Hill, runs through the Garden. But there you have Walks reaching out of sight, planted with Limon-Trees, Pomegranate-Trees, and Orange-Trees, which are covered from the Wind by high and thick hedges of a kind of Laurel, which they call *Speck*, always green, and pretty like to the *Filaria*. By the Disposition of the Walks, this Garden is divided into several indifferent big Squares, some of which are full of Fruit-Trees, and amongst them, besides Apple-trees, Pear-Trees, Quince-Trees, Apricot-Trees, and other excellent Fruits of Europe, you have also *Ananas*,

Banana-Trees, and several others that bear the rarest Fruits to be found in the several parts of the World, which have been transported thither, where they are most carefully cultivated and lookt after. The other Squares are sow'd with Roots, Pulse and Herbs, and some with the most esteemed Flowers of Europe, and others that we know not, which are of a singular good Smell and Beauty. The East-India Company to whom it belongs, as we have already said, have caused it to be made, that they may always have in that Place a kind of Magazine of all sorts of Refreshments for their Ships that go to, or come from, the *Indies*, which never fail to touch at the Cape of *Good-hope*.

The Ships that come from the *Indies* arrive there in the beginning of *March*, either alone or several together in company, and there they stay for the Fleet of *Europe*, which comes in the month of *April*. By that means they have the News, whether or not they be in Wars, and set out all together, that by the great number and strength of their Ships, they may be in a Condition not to fear what hurt Pirats or their Enemies can do them.

There is a great Pile of Building at the Entry into the Garden, where the Companies Slaves live, to the Number, it is said, of five hundred, of whom, part are employed in cultivating the Garden, and the rest in other necessary Work. About the middle of the Wall, on that side which looks to the Fort, there is a little Banquet-House where no body lives; the lower Story of it consists of a Porch open to the Garden and the Fort, with two little Halls on each side; over that there is a Pavilion open every way, betwixt two

Tarasses paved with Brick, and railed about ; the one looking towards the North, and the other to the South. This Pavilion seemed to be purposely made for our Design : For on the one side we discovered the North, the View whereof was absolutely necessary to us, because it is the South in relation to that Country. Whil'st they were a preparing that Pavilion, which with the Dutch I shall call our Observatory, we went on Board to give the Ambassador and our Fathers an Account of all that had past.

Next day the Commissary and Commander sent us on Board all sorts of Refreshments. The Officer who was ordered to make the present to the Ambassador on their Behalf, told us that these Gentlemen had also sent us a Boat to carry us and our Instruments ashore. Having in the Night time prepared these which we thought we might stand in need of, we put them into the Boat, and so went to the Observatory the second of *June*, in the Year one thousand Six hundred and eighty five.

II

CATHOLICS AT THE CAPE

THIS is all that past at the Cape of *Good Hope* in relation to our observations. Though we plied them day and night, yet they were not our only Employment. No sooner had we got possession of our little Observatory, but the Catholicks of that Colony, who are pretty numerous, had notice of it, and were thereat exceeding rejoiced. In the Mornings and Evenings they came

privately to us. There were some of all Countries, and of all Conditions, Free, Slaves, *French, Germans, Portuguese, Spaniards, Flemings, and Indians.* They who could no otherwise express themselves, because we understood not their Language, fell upon their Knees and kissed our hands. They pulled Chaplets and Medals out of their Bosoms to show that they were Catholicks, they wept and smote their Breasts. That Language of the Heart much more touching than words, wrought great compassion in us, and obliged us to embrace those poor People, whom Christian Charity made us look upon as our Brethren. We comforted them the best we could, exhorting them to persevere in the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, humbly and faithfully to serve their Masters, and to bear their troubles with Patience. We commended it to them particularly that they would examine their Consciences at night, and honour the Holy Virgin, who was ablest to procure them more Grace to live Christianly, and to keep them from Heresie. They who spoke French, Latin, Spanish, or Portuguese were confessed. We visited the Sick in their Houses and in the Hospital. This was all that could be done for their Consolation in so short a time, they not having the Liberty to come on board of us and hear Mass, nor we to say it to them a Shoar. Nevertheless it must have been suspected at the Cape that we carried them the Sacrament. For two of our Fathers returning one day from on Board with a Microscope in one of their Hands covered with Spanish Leather gilt, two or three of the Inhabitants, walking upon the Shoar, imagined it to be the holy

Sacrament which they were carrying to Catholicks in a box. They drew near to the Father to know the truth of the matter ; the Father told them what it was, and to convince them, made them look into the Microscope. Then one of them told him, Sir, I thought it had been so, because I know that you are the greatest Enemies of our Religion. We could not but smile at that saying, but without making answer we kept on in our way strait to the Fort.

PETER KOLBE

[Peter Kolb or Kolbe (in English the name is commonly given in its genitive case as Kolben) was selected by the Baron Van Krosiek to go to the Cape of Good Hope in order to make astronomical observations. He landed at Table Bay on 11th June 1705, and remained there till April 1713, when he returned to Europe. The German edition of his book, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum* (a folio), was published at Nürnberg in 1719; the Dutch edition came out in two glorious folios in 1727, and the scrubby English translation followed in 1731. Thenceforth until the astronomer De la Caille pricked his reputation, Kolbe was regarded in Europe as the chief authority on the Cape; but he was known for an idler and a quack in South Africa. Simon van der Stel chaffed him unmercifully about his astronomy; he was very nearly deported ‘as a person of no use in the settlement’ in 1701, and only saved himself by taking service under the government as secretary of the court at Stellenbosch; and the English traveller, John Maxwell, who met him at the Cape, observed drily that ‘Astronomy and Natural Philosophy will not, I believe, be much improv’d by this mission.’ Kolbe is a notorious liar and gossip; but his book is nevertheless interesting and amusing and in some respects valuable, the more so as there is reason to suspect that his account of the natives was really written by another and more capable hand.]

I

THE HOTTENTOTS AND THE PRAYING MANTIS

THE *Hottentots* likewise adore, as a benign Deity, a certain Insect, peculiar, 'tis said, to the *Hottentot*



PORTRAIT OF SPEELMAN, A HOTENTOT

From Burchell's "Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa" (London, 1822)

Countries. This Animal is of the Dimensions of a Child's little Finger ; the Back green ; the Belly speck'd with White and Red. 'Tis provided with Two Wings, and on its Head with Two Horns.

To this little winged Deity, when ever they set Sight upon it, they render the highest Tokens of Veneration. And if it honours, forsooth, a *Kraal* with a Visit, the Inhabitants assemble about it in Transports of Devotion, as if the Lord of the Universe was come among 'em. They sing and dance round it, Troop after Troop, while it stays, in the highest Extasie ; throwing to it the Powder of an Herb they call *Buchu*, our Botanists *Spiroeam*. They cover at the same Time the whole Area of the *Kraal*, the Tops of the Cots, and every Thing without Doors, with the same Powder. They likewise kill Two Fat Sheep, as a Thank-Offering for this high Honour. And 'tis impossible to drive out of a *Hottentot*'s Head, that the Arrival of this Insect in a *Kraal* brings Grace and Prosperity to all the Inhabitants. They believe, that all their offences to that Moment are buried in Oblivion, and all their Iniquities done away. They believe, that some signal Blessing attends the *Kraal* ; and that all the Inhabitants shall at that Time prosper in their Undertakings. They look upon themselves as made, by the Presence of this Deity, a new People ; and resolve to walk in Newness of Life ; a Work in which they trust they shall then have this Deity's Assistance in a very extraordinary Manner.

If this Insect happens to alight upon a *Hottentot*, he is look'd upon as a Man without Guilt, and distin-

guish'd and reverenc'd as a Saint and the Delight of the Deity ever after. His Neighbours glory that they have so Holy a Man among 'em, and publish the Matter far and near. The fattest Ox belonging to the *Kraal* is immediately kill'd for a Thank-Offering ; and the Time is turn'd into a Festivity in Honour of the Deity and the Saint. To the Saint are presented the Entrails, well cleans'd, with the Fat and the Caul. The Caul, well powder'd with *Buchu*, and twisted like a Rope, is put, Collar-wise, about his Neck : And there he is to wear it Day and Night, till it rots off, or till the Insect, at another Visit, alights upon another Inhabitant of the Kraal ; when he is at Liberty to remove it. If this happens not, he must wear it through all the Stages of Putrefaction, and while a Bit remains. He feasts alone on the Entrails, which are boil'd ; while the Men devour the Meat, prepar'd the same Way ; and the Women are regal'd with the Broth. Of the Fat he is oblig'd to be very careful ; and to anoint his Body and Apparel with That only, while any of it remains, without rejecting the least Bit of it.

The Case, in every Respect, is the same, if the Insect alights upon a Woman. She commences a Saint, with the same Solemnities ; only here the Women feast upon the Meat, while the Men are regal'd with the Broth.

This Insect I have often seen, and beheld the *Hottentots* more than once at these Solemnities.

The *Hottentots* will run every Hazard to procure the Safety of this Animal, and are cautious to the last

degree of giving it the least Annoyance. A *German*, who had a country-Seat, about Six Miles from the Fort, having given Leave to some *Hottentots* to turn their Cattle for a While upon his Land there, they remov'd to the Place with their *Kraal*. A Son of this *German*, a brisk young Fellow, was amusing himself in this *Kraal*, when the deified insect appear'd. The *Hottentots*, upon Sight, ran tumultuously to adore it while the young Fellow ran to catch it, in order to see the Effect such a Capture would produce among 'em. He seiz'd it in the Midst of 'em. But how great was the general Cry and Agony, when they saw it in his Hands ! They star'd, with Distraction in their Eyes, at him, and at one another. ' See, See, See,' said they. ' Ah ! What is he going to do ? Will he kill it ? Will he kill it ? ' every Limb of 'em shaking through Apprehensions for its Fate. ' Why,' said the young Fellow, who very well understood 'em, ' do you make such a hideous Noise ? And Why such Agonies for this paltry Animal ? ' ' Ah, Sir,' they replied, with the utmost Concern, ' 'Tis a Divinity. 'Tis come from Heaven. 'Tis come for a Gracious End ! Ah ! Do not hurt it ; Do not offend it. We are the most miserable Wretches upon Earth if you do. This Ground will lie under an eternal Curse ; and the Crime will never be forgiven.' This was not enough for the young *German*. He had a Mind to carry the Experiment a little farther. He seem'd not therefore to be mov'd with their Petitions and Remonstrances, but made as if he intended to maim or destroy it. On this Appearance of Cruelty they started, and ran to and again like People frantick ;

ask'd him Where and What his Conscience was ? And how he durst think of perpetrating a Crime, which would bring upon his Head all the Curses and Thunders of Heaven. But this not prevailing, they fell all prostrate on the Ground before the young Fellow, and, with streaming Eyes and the most moving Cries, besought him to spare the Creature and give it its Liberty. The young *German* now yielded ; and having let the insect fly, the Hottentots jump'd and caper'd and shouted in all the Transports of Joy ; and running after the Animal, render'd the customary Divine Honours. But the Creature settling upon none of 'em, there was not One sainted upon this Occasion.

II

A HOTTENTOT MORALITY

IN the Family where I first lodg'd at the *Cape Town*, was a *Hottentot* Woman-Servant, extremely belov'd for her Fidelity, Diligence, and Good Nature. Her Passion for Strong Liquors was, it seems, her greatest Infirmity. And a little too much always made a Sort of a Devil of her. The Family therefore took a great Deal of Care to keep her from Drinking any Strong Liquors to Excess. I was as yet unacquainted both with the Infirmity of this Woman and the Excesses of her Country-People, when one Evening, understanding that I had a Cask of Wine by me, she came to me in my Apartment, and earnestly besought me that I would give her a Little of it. 'For,' says she (speaking Dutch), 'I have had for a mighty While a strange



A BOSJESMAN OR BUSHMAN

From "Sketches of Various Types of the Cape of Good Hope" (London, 1851)

Longing to solace my self with a little good Liquor ; which I have not tasted for a long Time past, and which, alas, I know not otherwise how to come by.' 'Poor Woman,' said I, 'Tis a hard Case indeed. What, No body take Pity on you ! No body relieve your Longing ! No body give you now and then a comforting Glass !' 'Alas, Sir,' replied she, 'No. Tis a hard Matter for poor Folks to come by a little good Liquor.' 'Ha ! Say you so. Well, Good Woman,' said I, 'I 'll be your Friend. Come, How much will do ?' 'Do, Sir ?' she returned, 'What you please ; just What you please. Ah, you are a good Gentleman, so you are.' And reaching a Quart-pot the Baggage wheedled me so artfully that I gave it her Top full. But before I parted with it, tho' at that Time I knew Nothing, as I have said, of the *Hottentot* Excesses, I advis'd her that she should on no Account drink it All up presently ; but that she should drink it by Little and Little, and make it serve a long Time. Promising me that she would follow my Advice, she tript away in a Transport of Joy ; and I thought I had perform'd a notable Deed of Charity. In a few Minutes she was with me again ; smiling, and swinging in her Hand the empty Quart. She had drank it all up. 'Look you, Sir,' said she (with a very surprising Confidence, which she ow'd to the Liquor), 'I am come for more Wine. I am of Opinion, 'tis extremely delicious. But I am not sure of it ; And I long to be sure. Now a little more will make me very sure. And I dare say you are so good a Gentleman that you will not deny it me.' I now began to perceive my Mistake. 'Look you,'

said I, ‘Good Woman, you have not kept your Promise with me to drink what I gave you, moderately ; and ’tis my Resolution to give you no more now, whatever I may do hereafter.’ I had no sooner said This than she fell into a loud Laughter ; and told me plainly that she would not leave me till I had given her more. ‘There is no Time,’ said she, ‘like the Time present. Another Time you may have no Wine or none so good. And I think, but I am not sure, that this is the most delicious Wine that ever I tasted. Now you *must*, you *shall* make me sure. You shall give me the other Quart, Sir ; and that will make me very sure.’ I did what I could by fair Words to put an End to her Importunity ; but they not effecting it, I threaten’d to complain to her Master and Mistress ; and was just stepping to call to one or other of ’em when they both, having smelt out the Matter, stept in to us. But without minding either one or other, she repeated again and again her requests for more Wine, and that in so passionate and ridiculous a Manner, that my Landlord and Landlady fell a laughing very heartily. ‘Nay,’ says my Landlord, who understood What I had done, ‘since you have begun the Work, you must go through Stitch with it. Since you have blown her Half Seas over, you must not chop the Wind in her Teeth till she is fairly on the other Side. My Word for it she leaves you not till you have given her the other Quart.’ This was giving me to understand that he had a Mind I should quite fuddle her. He had been several Times diverted with her farciful Extravagancies in Liquor, and was desirous I should be entertain’d with

the same Maggotries. I did not much care for this Sport, but finding that he, in a Manner, insisted on it, I gave her the other Quart of Wine ; and she drank it off immediately before us. Having emptied the Pot, she extended her Arms, and told me, that in return for my Kindness she would entertain me with a *Hottentot* Dance. This *Hottentot* Dance was a Jumble of Stamping, Capering and Wriggling the Body ; and she perform'd it with such a Fury of Action, that her Brains were quickly enflam'd, and she was under the most raging Intoxication. She stopt ; star'd wildly upon the Company ; and set her Tongue a going with the Fury of a Jack-Flyer, pouring out a Thousand of the maddest Conceits that ever were heard. She then fell into an outrageous Fit of Laughter, which lasted for a considerable Time, and shook her Sides very briskly. This was succeeded by such a horrid Howling and Screaming, that the Noise was hardly to be endur'd ; and you would not have imagin'd, had you heard it, and not at the same Time seen the Wretch, that it came from a Human Creature. After some Time had pass'd to the most woful Tune that ever was heard, the Scene chang'd its Face again. She resum'd her Speech, and reproach'd her self with a Thousand Vices and Follies which No body had ever dreamt she was to be charg'd with, and None could believe she had ever committed. At the End of these Reflections on her self, she became in Appearance very sober. She talk'd leisurely ; and blam'd me for giving her so much Liquor ; and said her Drunkenness was my Fault, for that I had press'd the Wine upon her against her In-

cinations. But this Appearance of Sobriety quickly vanish'd ; and bounce she went into a Fit of Laughing ; and from thence into a Fit of Crying. Again she went the Rounds of Madness, now laughing, now crying, now capering, now stamping, now standing Stock still ; now chearful and chattering like a Magpie, now mute and melancholy ; now exclaiming against her self, now against others ; now howling and screaming, and now laughing heartily again. Never was Imagination more shatter'd than hers. I could no longer endure the Spectacle. It grew late ; and her Noise disturb'd the Neighbours. My Landlord therefore went up to her ; and shaking his Cane over her, told her, that if she did not immediately cease her Noise and go to Bed, he would thrash her tightly ; and charg'd her to give the Family no farther Disturbance. Upon this, whether the Words or the Sight of the Cane effected the Matter, or both had a Share in it, she retir'd immediately and silently to her Bed ; and the Family heard no more of her till the next Morning ; when the poor Creature, coming to her Work, appear'd in the greatest Confusion. She was All Melancholy and Shame. She had not the courage to look up, and would have hid her Face from every one. Her mistress coming up and rattling her upon her last Night's Extravagance, she turn'd from her and fell a crying bitterly, a Thing not usual among the *Hottentots*. She complain'd very piteously of the Head-Ach ; and falling on her Knees, begg'd Pardon of the Family for the Disturbance she had given, and of the Gentleman (meaning me) for importuning him to give her that Wicked Liquor, as

she term'd it ; and promis'd never to be drunk again. Soon after coming my Way, she stopt me very respectfully, to ask Pardon for her Rudeness and Extravagance; and told me she would never drink more of that wicked Liquor. ‘Why,’ said I, ‘Good Woman, the Liquor is good Liquor. It has no Fault but when you drink too much of it.’ To which she returned very discreetly, ‘But, Sir, since I have not the Command of my self in Drinking it, the best Way for me will be never to touch it again.’ And, according to All I could hear of the Woman, and I heard of her frequently for several Years after, she follow'd her own Counsel exactly, and would no more on any Account touch a Drop of Wine or any other strong Liquor.

CHARLES PETER THUNBERG

[Thunberg, like his more brilliant friend, Sparrman, was a Swede and a member of the famous University of Upsala, where he was a pupil and afterwards a successor of Linnæus in the Chair of Botany. Travelling on a scholarship, he first went to Holland and there made the acquaintance of Professor Burmann and other great savants. They obtained for him a post as surgeon on a Dutch East Indiaman, so that he might reach the Cape and explore its then imperfectly known flora. His travels in Europe, the Cape, and the East, cover the years from 1770 to 1776, and he made extensive excursions in South Africa. His book, which was originally written in Latin, is a journal in which everything is noted down just as it occurred to the observer, the result being a formless and surprising medley of shrewd but disconnected observations. The story of Woltemaad is, I think, for the general reader, the best thing in the book. Thunberg omits to mention that the Dutch East Indian Company called one of their ships the *Woltemaad* in honour of the hero of his story. An English edition of Thunberg's *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, in 4 vols., was published in London in 1795.]

THE HEROIC WOLTEMAAD

ON the 1st of June, being Whit-Monday, there arose a very high north-west wind, with violent hurricanes and showers of rain; at night, in this storm, the *Jonge Thomas*, one of the four ships belonging to the company, that were still in the road, having lost all its anchors, one after the other, was driven on the sands near the

shore, at *Zout rivier*, and, in consequence of its heavy lading, split into two pieces in the middle. The surge rose to an amazing height on the shores towards this side, and *Zout rivier* was so swollen that it was almost impassable. It is true, from the middle of May to the middle of August, the company's ships are prohibited from lying in the road, yet it sometimes happens that the governor permits it in order to avoid the inconveniences of victualling and lading the ships in *False Bay*. Independently of the loss sustained by the company, as well in ships as merchandise, there perished also unfortunately on this occasion a number of the crew, who, for the want of assistance, were lost, and met with a deplorable death very near the land. Only 63 men escaped, 149 being unhappily drowned.

The ship had scarcely struck, which happened just at daybreak, when the most efficacious expedients were used to save as much as possible of the company's property that might chance to be thrown on shore, though I could not perceive that the least care was taken to deliver a single soul of the crew from their forlorn and miserable situation. Thirty men were instantly ordered out, with a stripling of a lieutenant, from the citadel, to the place where the ship lay, in order to keep a strict look-out and prevent any of the company's effects from being stolen; and a gibbet was erected, and at the same time an edict issued, importing that whoever should come near that spot should be hanged immediately, without trial or sentence of judgment being passed upon him. This was the cause that the compassionate inhabitants, who had gone out on

horseback to afford the wretched sufferers some assistance, were obliged to turn back without being able to do them the least service ; but, on the contrary, were, together with me, ocular witnesses of the brutality and want of feeling shown by certain persons on this occasion, who did not bestow a thought on affording their fellow-creatures that sat on the wreck perishing with cold, hunger, and thirst, and were almost in the arms of death, the least assistance or relief.

Another circumstance contributed to render this otherwise distressing scene still more afflicting. Among the few who were lucky enough to be able to save their lives by swimming from the wreck was the gunner, a man with whom I was acquainted, and met with several times afterwards in the town ; he had stripped himself quite naked in order that he might swim the easier, and had the good luck to come alive to shore, which was not the case with every one that could swim ; for many were either dashed to pieces against the rocks, or else by the violence of the surf carried back again to sea. When he arrived on shore he found his chest landed before him ; but just as he was going to open it and take out his greatcoat, the lieutenant who commanded the party drove him away from it ; and though he earnestly begged for leave to take out the clothes necessary for covering his naked and shivering body, and could also prove by the key fastened, according to the sailor's custom, to his girdle, as well as by his name cut out on the lid of the chest, that it was actually his property, he was, nevertheless, forced to retreat without effecting his purpose by this

unmerciful hero, who gave him several smart blows with a cane on his bare back. After he had passed the whole day naked and hungry, and exposed to the cold winds, and was going to be taken in the evening to town along with the others who had been saved from the wreck, he again asked leave to take a coat out of his chest to cover himself with ; but this having been previously plundered, he found empty. On entering the town, where he arrived stark naked, he met with a burgher, who took compassion on him and lent him his greatcoat. Afterwards he, as well as the other unfortunate wretches, was forced to run about the town for several days together, begging for victuals, clothes, and money, till at length they were supported at the company's expense, and taken back again into its service.

Another action that does great honour to humanity deserves the more to be recorded here, as it shows that at all time, and in all places, there are both good and considerate people, as well as such as have nothing human but the shape. An old man, of the name of *Woltemad*, by birth an European, who was at this time the keeper of the beasts in the menagerie near the garden, had a son in the citadel, who was a corporal and among the first who had been ordered out to *Paarden Island* (Horse Island), where a guard was to be set for the preservation of the wrecked goods. This worthy veteran borrowed a horse, and rode out in the morning with a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread for his son's breakfast. This happened so early that the gibbet had not yet been erected, nor the edict posted

up, to point out to the traveller the nearest road to eternity. This hoary sire had no sooner delivered to his son the refreshments he had brought him, and heard the lamentations of the distressed crew from the wreck, than he resolved to ride his horse, which was a good swimmer, to the wreck, with a view of saving some of them. He repeated this dangerous trip six times more, bringing each time two men alive on shore, and thus saved in all fourteen persons. The horse was by this time so much fatigued that he did not think it prudent to venture out again; but the cries and entreaties of the poor wretches on the wreck increasing, he ventured to take one trip more, which proved so unfortunate that he lost his own life, as on this occasion too many from the wreck rushed upon him at once, some catching hold of the horse's tail, and others of the bridle, by which means the horse, both wearied out and now too heavy laden, turned head over heels, and all were drowned together. This noble and heroic action of a superannuated old man sufficiently shows that a great many lives might probably have been saved, if a strong rope had been fastened by one end to the wreck, and by the other to the shore. Along this rope either a basket or a large copper vessel might have been hawled to and from the ship, with a man in it each time. When the storm and waves had subsided, the ship was found to lie at so small a distance from the land that one might have almost leaped from it on shore.

The vigorous measures taken to preserve the company's effects and merchandise were not, however,

so efficacious as to prevent certain persons in office from enriching themselves considerably on this occasion. For when whole horse-loads of iron from the wreck could be sold to the smiths in town, it is easy to conceive that their consciences would not stand greatly in their way if they could lay their hands upon portable and valuable commodities. The soldiers also were so careful when on guard that nothing should be pillaged from the wreck, that they themselves every night, when relieved, marched into town with their musket-barrels stuffed full of solid gold lace, which, though somewhat damaged by the salt water, answered very well when thrown into the melting-pot.

Though the hardest hearts frequently are softened by the uncommonly severe misfortunes and distresses of their fellow-creatures, and though great and noble actions have at all times been able to excite the gratitude and benevolence of the fellow-citizens of the perpetrators ; yet (I am sorry to say it) I have it not in my power to conclude this melancholy picture with some delightful trait of generous compassion on the part of the governor towards the poor sufferers, and especially towards the drowned hero, or of some noble remuneration of his son. For when, shortly after, this young man solicited for the employment of his deceased father, which was a post of such small importance, that it could neither be considered as a recompense, nor could it be envied him by any one, it was refused him and given to another.

This unfeeling *bon vivant* of a governor, rich in money, but poor in spirit, permitted him, nevertheless,

afterwards to do what others consider as a punishment, viz., to go to Batavia, where he hoped to find kinder patrons, and a wider field for making his fortune in. And here he would doubtless have attained his desires had he lived longer; but in the very unwholesome climate whither he was now gone to see his only brother, a merchant, he died, before an order arrived from the directors of the company in Holland (which did as much credit to them, as it ought to have accumulated shame upon the officers at the Cape), viz., that the sons of *Woltemad*, for the sake of their father, should be rewarded and promoted in every way that could possibly be done. On this and similar occasions I have observed how much an enlightened mind and a generous heart are to be prized above the gifts of fortune, above riches and honours, and how infinitely these latter are exalted by the former if they are united with them, in which case they command every one's esteem.

I now also perceived the reason why the Europeans, both sailors and soldiers, are in many respects treated worse and with less compassion than the very slaves themselves. With respect to the latter, the owner not only takes care that they are clothed and fed, but likewise, when they are sick, that they are well nursed and have proper medical attendance. The former go as they can, viz., naked, or dressed in tattered clothes, which, perhaps, after all, do not fit them; and when one of them dies, it is a common saying, that the company gets another for nine guilders.

WILLIAM PATERSON

[William Paterson was a capable botanist and explorer, whatever he may have been as an administrator. He was born in 1755, joined the army at an early age ; but was fonder of botany than soldiering and went to the Cape in the interests of his science in 1777. He made four expeditions into the interior between that date and 1779, and was with Captain Gordon when that great servant of the Dutch East India Company christened (he did not discover) the Orange River. Paterson was also one of the first—although not, as he claims, the first—to visit Kaffraria. Paterson afterwards went to Australia to help in the onerous work of keeping Botany Bay in order. He was involved in most of the quarrels which broke the monotony of Botany Bay administration, and was nearly killed in a desperate duel with John M'Arthur. In the intervals of suppressing mutinies and fighting his colleagues he did excellent botanical and geographical work. After attaining the rank of Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales, he died, on his homeward voyage, in 1810. His *Narrative of Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots and Caffraria in the years 1777-8-9* was published in London in 1789. He writes drily, but clearly and accurately. It is one of the pities of our literature that he did not write more.]

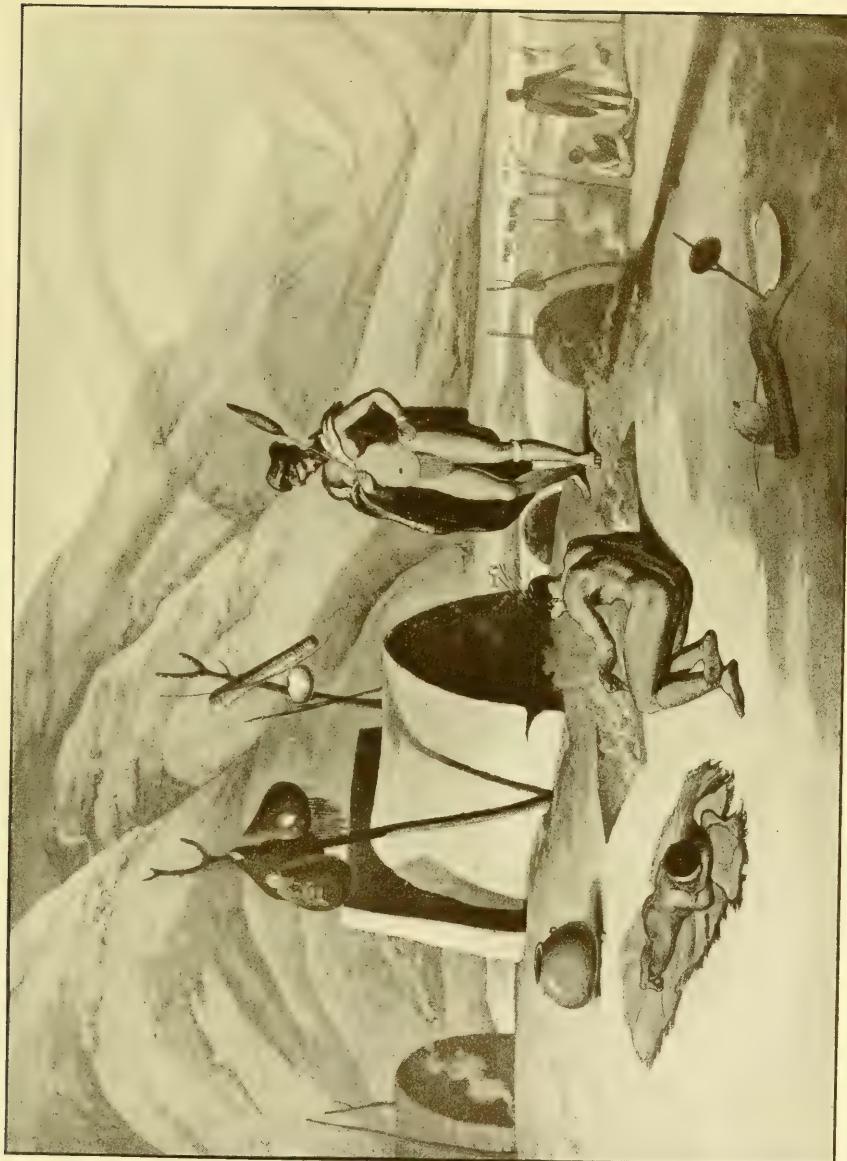
THE CHRISTENING OF THE ORANGE RIVER

COLONEL GORDON's cattle began to drop down in the wagon, having had neither grass nor water for two days ; but my wagoners kept on their journey, and unknown to me left the others behind. At nine in

the evening we overtook my wagon, and found our people had been consulting whether or not they should return, as they had not the least prospect of finding water. They supposed that Colonel Gordon's companion had lost his way, and were in great doubt whether we should ever see or hear of him more. About ten one of the Hottentots arrived who had left the wagon in company with him, but parted the first day. He brought the glad tidings that he had found a fountain of excellent water about six miles to the northward, and brought a little with him in a calabash. This animated us greatly, and next morning Colonel Gordon and Jacobus Van Renan returned to his wagon, while we directed our course to the fountain, which we reached about nine, and the others arrived at noon. This place not only afforded us good water, but excellent grass for our cattle, and variety of succulent plants, such as geraniums, stapelias and mezembryanthemums. This fountain is situate between two precipices, which were much decayed and worn.

We continued here a whole day in order to rest our cattle, and in the meanwhile Colonel Gordon and myself made an excursion to the sea, which was distant about nine miles. We saw many large mimosa trees which had been thrown up by the ocean, and some at the distance of a mile from the water were almost buried in the sand; from these appearances we concluded we were not far from the Great River.

We directed our course northward on the fifteenth (August, 1719) and with much difficulty and fatigue we



BOSJEMANS FRYING LOCUSTS
From Samuel Daniell's "African Scenery" (London, 1804-05)

penetrated about ten miles, through a sandy country. In our road along the shore we observed the traces of human feet, which appeared so recent that we concluded some person had passed that way on that day or the day preceding. We were in hopes that these might have been some of the Hottentots who accompanied Mr. Pinar, Colonel Gordon's companion. In the night we made fires as a signal, but the signal was not answered ; we concluded therefore that they must have been the wild natives ; and from finding the skin of a seal, which was quite fresh, our conjecture was confirmed. We now lost all hopes of ever seeing Mr. Pinar again, as he had been separated from us four days in these dreary deserts, without our having been able to discover whither he could have directed his steps.

During the following day our route lay to the northward, and at noon we passed two hills which we had observed during our journey the two preceding days. As they were situate at a very small distance from each other, and were very similar in their figure and size, we gave them the name of the Two Brothers ; and in this desolate region there was no one who could dispute any denomination by which we chose to distinguish whatever we met with. To the northward we discovered a large valley about three miles distant, but found there was no water. This Colonel Gordon called Benting's Valley. We were obliged to stay here all night, as our cattle was so much fatigued that it was impossible to proceed further ; our guide informed us that we were then about eight miles from the river.

Early in the morning, Colonel Gordon, Jacobus Van Renan and I left the wagons and proceeded on our journey. In our way we found an ostrich nest containing thirty-four fresh eggs, which proved excellent food. We saw several zebras, quachas, and elks. At ten in the forenoon we arrived at the river, which appeared at once to be a new creation to us. After having passed nine days in crossing an arid and sultry desert, where no living animal was to be seen, and during which our cattle had but twice tasted the luxury of a drop of water. We here unsaddled our horses and refreshed ourselves by the side of the river, under the shade of a willow which hung over its banks ; and afterwards made an excursion along the river to the eastward, hoping that we should find some appearance of our lost companion, who had been seven days absent from the wagons. We observed several old uninhabited huts, where were numbers of baboon's bones, with those of various other wild beasts. About a thousand yards from the banks of the river the country is extremely barren, and to the eastward very mountainous. On these eminences there is scarcely any apparent vegetation ; but in the plain part of the country to the westward I found a variety of the most beautiful plants, particularly geraniums and asclepias, but very few of the succulent kind. The banks of the river produce lofty trees peculiar to this country, such as mimosa, salix, and a species of rhus, called by the Dutch, Rezyne Houd. There are also a few trees of ebony, but to the eastward it grows in still greater abundance. In the afternoon, our wagon not being

arrived, we returned the same way we came, and found our people had taken a different direction. We followed their track, overtook them near the mouth of the river.

In the evening we launched Colonel Gordon's boat, and hoisted Dutch colours. Colonel Gordon proposed first to drink the States' health, and then that of the Prince of Orange and the Company; after which he gave the river the name of the Orange River, in honour of that Prince. We agreed to remain in this situation a few days, and to visit the opposite shore, as we had in this place very good pasture for our cattle.

The following day, therefore, we employed ourselves in fishing, and towards the evening had the great satisfaction of once more beholding our lost companion, Mr. Pinar, who arrived with three of the Hottentots. They looked dreadfully ill, having travelled five days through sultry deserts, over sandy hills and rocky mountains, without tasting food or swallowing a drop of water. On the fifth day they discovered a small fountain, where they left one of the Hottentots, who was so exhausted that they had no expectation he could survive the day. Mr. Pinar appeared to be much less injured by his unfortunate expedition than the Hottentots; their eyes were sunk in their heads, and they appeared more like dead than living men.

We made an excursion, on the nineteenth, along the shore, where we found numbers of wild geese, ducks, flamingoes, pelicans, etc. The land forms a flat point, which extends from the mouth of the river north-west half west; the Two Brothers, south-east

by south, are distant about twelve miles. The mouth is about half a mile in breadth, but is enclosed by a ridge of rocks which lie a mile from the shore, in a direction east and west, and which render it impossible for ships to enter the river. The land is extremely low and barren ; to the westward, sandy ; and to the east, rocky. In the evening our Hottentot arrived whom we had never expected to see again.

The next day I crossed the river, in company with Colonel Gordon, and left the boat in order to make an excursion to the westward. Here we observed the print of human feet which appeared to us to be fresh. Upon this we resolved to pursue the track, and on our way saw several snares laid for the wild beasts. After travelling about five miles to the northward, we perceived some of the natives on a sandy hillock, about one mile from us ; we made several signals to them, but they seemed to be quite wild, and made their escape. We continued to follow their path, which brought us to their habitation, but we were still as unable to bring about any intercourse with them as before ; for the whole family immediately betook themselves to flight, except a little dog, which seemed to be equally unacquainted with Europeans. Here we stayed some time, and examined their huts. In them we found several species of aromatic plants, which they had been drying, and a few skins of seals. Their huts were much superior to those of the generality of Hottentots ; they were loftier, and thatched with grass, and were furnished with stools made of the backbones of the grampus. Several species of fish

were suspended from poles stuck into the ground. Having nothing about us which we thought would prove an acceptable present, Colonel Gordon cut the buttons from his coat, and deposited them among the aromatic plants which were drying. In the meantime we again observed these natives at the same place where we had first discovered them. We made every possible sign in order to allure them to us, and dispatched one of our Hottentots, who spoke to them and assured them we had no evil intention. After some time Colonel Gordon went to them, while I remained at their huts with the guns, and after much persuasion he induced them to return to their kraal. They were eleven in number, and were the only natives who inhabited this part of the country. We inquired after other nations, but they could give us no account, except of the Nimiquas, whence we had just come. A Nimiqua woman who lived with them was the only one of the company who knew anything of Europeans. Though few in number, they were governed by a chief, whose name was Cout. The mode of living amongst these people was in the highest degree wretched, and they are apparently the dirtiest of all the Hottentot tribes. Their dress is composed of the skins of seals and jackals, the flesh of which they eat. When it happens that a grampus is cast ashore, they remove their huts to the place, and subsist upon it as long as any part of it remains; and in this manner it sometimes affords them sustenance for half a year, though in a great measure decayed and putrified by the sun. They smear their skins with the oil or train; the odour of

which is so powerful that their approach may be perceived some time before they present themselves to the sight. They carry their water in the shells of ostrich eggs, and the bladders of seals, which they shoot with bows. Their arrows are the same as those of all other Hottentots.

JACQUES HENRI BERNARDIN DE SAINT-PIERRE

[Saint-Pierre, the famous author of *Paul et Virginie*, was born in 1737 and died in 1814. After many romantic adventures in Malta, St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Dresden, and Berlin he received a Government post on the Isle of France (Mauritius). He set out in 1768 and returned in 1771; one of the literary products of his sojourn being the *Voyage à l'Ile de France* (2 vols. 1773), from which the following extract is taken. Bernardin was a sentimentalist of his time and country, and as ardent a follower of Rousseau as Le Vaillant and Chateaubriand. Like his school he sought the simple life at any cost—even at the expense of truth. Innocence he worshipped (and usually betrayed). But he had the divine gift of style which covers a multitude of sins.]

A SENTIMENTALIST AT THE CAPE

EARLY in the morning the *Normande* anchored nearer to the town. It is composed of white stones in strait rows, which at a distance look like houses built with cards.

At sunrise three shallop very prettily painted came on board us. They were sent by the townspeople, who invited us to land and lodge among them. I went on board a shallop of a German's who assured me that for my money I should be well accommodated at Monsieur Nedling's.

In our way across the road, I reflected upon the

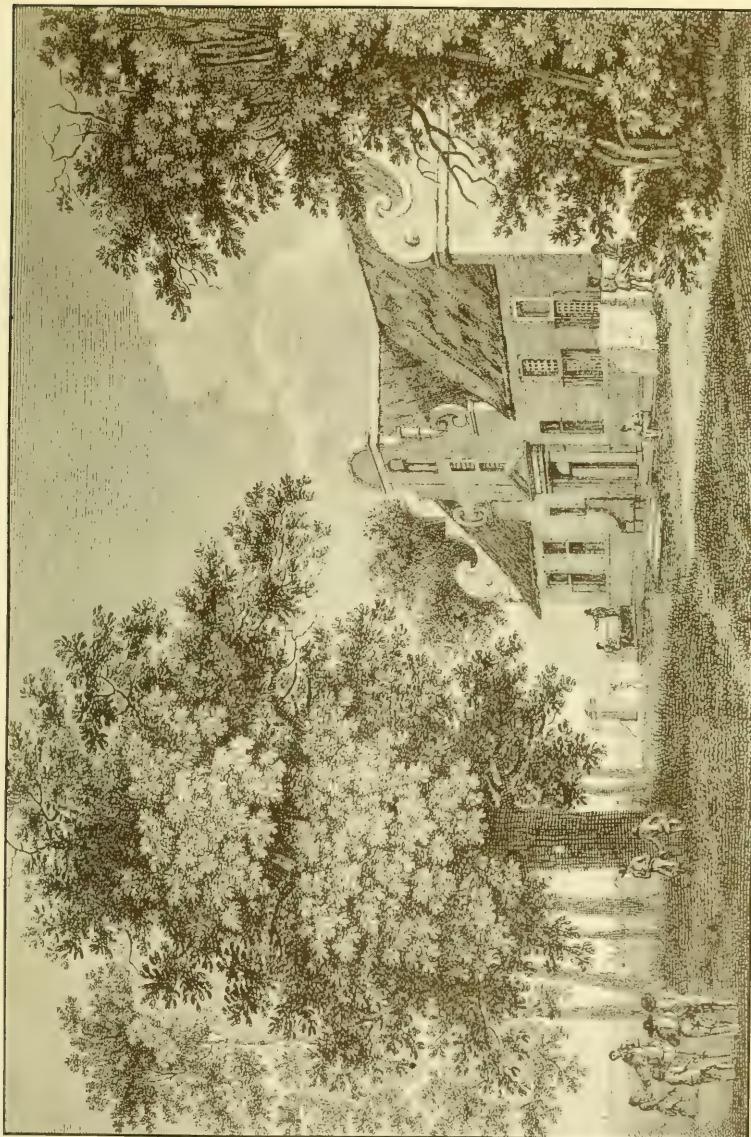
singular situation I was in ; to find myself, without clothes, money, or acquaintance, among Hollanders at the very extremity of Africa. But my reflections were interrupted by a spectacle quite new to me. We passed by a number of sea-calves, lying at their ease upon floats of seaweed, like the long horns with which shepherds call their flocks together. Penguins swam quietly within reach of our oars ; sea-fowls came and perched upon the shallop, and upon my landing upon the sand I even saw two pelicans at play with a large mastiff, and taking his head into their great beak.

I conceived a good opinion of a land, in whch hospitality and goodwill showed themselves so conspicuously even among the brute creation.

The streets at the Cape are very strait, some of them are watered with canals, and most of them planted with chestnut trees. It was very pleasing to see them covered with leaves in the month of January. The fronts of the houses were shaded with their foliage, and at the two sides of the doors were seats of brick or turf, on many of which sat ladies with clear and ruddy complexions. I was rejoiced at once more seeing the countenances and the architecture of Europeans.

I walked through some part of the place with my guide to Madame Nedling's, a fat Dutchwoman who was very sprightly. She was drinking tea among seven or eight officers of the fleet, who were smoking their pipes. She showed me a very neat apartment, and assured me that everything in her house was at my service.

GROOT CONSTANTIA
From Wilbord's "Voyage Pittoresque" (1812)



When a man has seen one Dutch town he has seen them all : 'tis the same here—the order of each house is alike. The custom of Madame Nedling's was this, there was always company in the parlour, and a table covered with peaches, melons, apricots, raisins, pears, cheese, fresh butter, wine, pipes and tobacco. At eight o'clock tea and coffee is ready for breakfast. At noon they have game and fish in plenty for dinner, at four they drink coffee and tea, at eight they have a supper as plentiful as their dinner. These good people are eating from morning till night.

The expense of boarding in this manner was formerly no more than half a piastre, or fifty French sols (a trifle more than two shillings) per day, but some French officers of the marine, in order to distinguish themselves from other nations, raised the price to a piastre, which was commonly paid.

This price is enormous, when we consider the great plenty of provisions ; it is true that more elegance is to be found here than in our best taverns. The servants of the house are at your command ; you may invite whom you please, and may pass some days at your landlord's country-house, and have the use of his carriage, without any additional expense.

After dinner I went to see Monsieur Tolbac, the Governor, a man of eighty years of age, whose merit procured him this government fifty years ago. He invited me to dinner the next day. I had apprised him of my situation, of which he seemed very sensible.

I then walked in the Company's garden ; it is divided into four quarters, and watered by a rivulet.

Each quarter is bordered by a row of chestnut trees, twenty feet high. These pallisadoes shelter the plants from the wind, which always blows hard ; they have even had the precaution to defend the young trees of the avenues by a screen of reeds.

I saw in the garden the plants of Asia and Africa, but particularly the trees of Europe, covered with fruits at a season when I had never before seen leaves on them.

* * * * *

Monsieur de Berg's son invited me to go to Constance, a famous plantation of vineyards, situated about four leagues off. We slept at his country-house, behind the Table Mountain, at two short leagues distance from the town. We walked thither through a beautiful avenue of chestnut trees. We saw there—vineyards ripe for vintage—orchards, chestnut groves, and a very great abundance of fruits and vegetables.

The next day we continued our route to Constance ; it is a little hill, rising to the north (which is here the side of the sun at noon). On our approach we passed through a wood of silver trees. They resemble the pine tree, have a leaf like the willow, and are covered with a white down which is very shining.

This forest seemed to be all of silver. When the wind blew them about and the sun shone, each leaf glittered like a plate of metal. We walked through these groves, so rich and so delightful, in order to look at the vines, which though less splendid in appearance, are of far greater utility.

A broad avenue of old chestnut trees conducted

us to the vineyard of Constance. Over the front of the house we saw a vile painting of a strapping girl, and ugly enough, reclining on a pillar. I took it for a Dutch allegorical figure of chastity ; but they told me it was the portrait of a Madame Constantia, daughter of a Governor of the Cape. He caused this house to be built with deep ditches round it like a fortification. He proposed to raise it a story or two higher, but was prevented by orders from Europe.

We found the master of the house smoking his pipe in his nightgown. He carried us into his cellar and made us taste his wine. It was in little casks called *alverames*, containing about ninety pints, ranged very regularly under ground. There were thirty of them. This vineyard in common years produces two hundred. He sells the red wine at thirty-five piastres per alverame, and the white for thirty. The estate is his own, conditionally that he shall reserve some wine yearly for the Company, who pay him for it. This he told me himself.

* * * * *

When we returned from our walk, we found a plentiful breakfast ; our landlady overwhelmed us with kindness ; she descended from a French refugee, and seemed in raptures at the sight of one of her countrymen. Her husband and she showed me a large hollow chestnut tree, before the door of the house, in which they sometimes dined. Their union was like that of Baucis and Philemon, nor were they less happy —except that the husband had the gout, and the wife cried when anybody spoke of France.

* * * * *

The people at the Cape do not game, nor do they visit much. The women look after their servants and houses, the furniture of which is always in the nicest order. The husband manages the business abroad. In the evening the family assembles, they walk and take the air as soon as the breeze is at an end. The same business and the same pleasures are repeated each day.

The utmost harmony prevails among relations. My hostess's brother was a peasant of the Cape who came seventy leagues from hence. This man hardly ever spoke, and was continually sitting and smoking his pipe. He had a little boy with him of ten years old who constantly stood by him. The father put his hand to his cheek and caressed him without opening his lips; the child, as silent as the father, pressed his great hands in his own, looking up at him with eyes expressive of the most filial tenderness. This little boy wore the country habit,—he had a cousin in the house of his own age who was very genteelly dressed; these children used to walk out together with the greatest intimacy. The little citizen did not look with contempt upon the peasant—he was his cousin.

* * * * *

This people, content with domestic happiness, the sure consequence of a virtuous life, do not yet seek after it in romances or upon the theatre. There are no public exhibitions at the Cape, nor are they wished for. In his own house each man views the most pleasing, the most affecting of all spectacles—servants happy, children well brought up, and wives faithful and affectionate. These are the delights which the tales

of fiction cannot afford. They are a pensive set of people who choose rather to feel than to converse or to argue. Perhaps the want of subject is the cause of their taciturnity. But of what consequence is the mind's being vacant, so the heart be full, and actuated by the tender emotions of nature, unexcited by artifice, or unconstrained by unreasonable decorum and unnatural reserve.

As soon as the girls of the Cape are in love they avow it ingenuously. They call it a natural sentiment, a gentle passion, upon which depends the felicity of their lives, and compensates the pains and danger of their becoming mothers; but they themselves—with themselves—make choice of the man to whom they make their vows of constancy.

They make no mystery of their passion—as they feel it—so they express it. Are you beloved? You are accepted, entertained, and publicly distinguished. I was a witness to a parting scene between Mademoiselle Nedling and her lover. In tears, and with sighs, she prepared the presents which were to be the pledges of her affection—in which employment she neither sought for witnesses nor did she shun them.

This mutual inclination is generally productive of a happy marriage. The young men are equally frank in their proceedings. They return from Europe to fulfil their engagements; and bring with them the merit of the dangers through which they have passed, and of a love unaltered by an absence from its object. Esteem and affection are united, and maintain for life that desire of pleasing which elsewhere shows itself

more towards other objects than towards that to which it is properly due.

As happily as they live here, blessed with simplicity of manners and a country so rich and plentiful—yet everything which comes from Holland is received among them with transport. Their houses are papered with views of Amsterdam, of its public places and environs. They look upon Holland as their country, and even strangers in their service speak of it in that light only. I asked a Swede in the Company's service how long the fleet would be on its return to Holland. ‘We shall be at least three months,’ replied he, ‘before we get home.’

They have a handsome church, wherein divine service is performed with great decency. I don't know whether the Dutch think religion an addition to their happiness, but there are men here whose ancestors have sacrificed everything that they hold most dear to the exercise of it. I speak of the French refugees. At some leagues distance from the Cape they have a settlement which is called La Petite Rochelle. They are quite in raptures at the sight of a Frenchman, they bring him home to their houses, and present him to their wives and children, as a man happy in having seen the country of their forefathers, and in a prospect of returning to it again. France is continually the subject of discourse, they admire it, they praise it; yet do they complain of it, as of a mother whose severity towards them had been too extreme. Thus do they break in upon the enjoyment of the country they now live in—by lamenting their exile from that which they have never seen.

The magistrates of the Cape, especially the Governor, are treated with the utmost deference. His house is distinguished only from others by the sentinel at the door, and by the custom of sounding a trumpet when he sits down to dinner. This piece of respect is annexed to his place. No other pomp attends his person. He goes out without retinue, and is easy of access. His house stands by the side of a canal shaded with chestnut trees planted before his door. In it are the pictures of Ruyter, Van Trump, and some other illustrious persons of Holland. It is small and plain, and suited to the very few people who have affairs to solicit with him ; but the Governor himself is so respected and beloved that the inhabitants do not even pass his door without showing some mark or other of their respect.

He gives no public entertainments, but his purse is always open for the service of worthy and indigent people. They need pay no court to him. If they seek for justice, they obtain it of the council—if succour, this he takes upon himself, as a duty—injustice only can be solicited, but it constantly meets with the merited success.

He has much time upon his hands, which he employs for the preservation of peace and concord, being persuaded of their tendency to the well-being of all societies. He is not of opinion that the power of the chief magistrate depends upon discord and dissension among individuals. I have heard him say that the best policy was to deal justly and honestly with every man. He frequently invites strangers to his table. Although more than eighty years old his conversation is lively ;

he is acquainted with most of our works of genius, and is fond of them. Of all the Frenchmen he has seen, he chiefly regrets the Abbé de la Caille, for whom he built an observatory here. He esteems him for his learning, his modesty, his disinterestedness and social qualities. I know nothing more of this learned man than by his works, but in mentioning the respect paid by strangers to his memory, I feel a satisfaction at finishing my account of this estimable body of people with their eulogium of one of my countrymen.

ANDREW SPARRMAN

[The travels of Andrew Sparrman serve to remind us that Sweden once had great ambitions in the East, for it was by the influence of the Royal Swedish East India Company that Sparrman, who was a learned Swedish physician and naturalist, was enabled to reach the Cape. He arrived in South Africa on 10th January 1772, and after exploring the neighbourhood of the Cape in the intervals of tutoring and medical practice, he left with Captain Cook in the *Resolution* on 22nd November 1772. Returning in 1775, he set out on a journey which lasted from 25th July of that year to April 1776, and took him as far as Kaffraria. Besides being a trained and accurate observer, Sparrman had a well-developed sense of humour, and his book, *The Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, etc. (London, 1782 and 1785) makes excellent reading.]

A BOTANICAL PILGRIMAGE

April 1772.—Since my design, as I have already said, is to give my readers the description of this country and people in the same order, and manner, in which I myself became acquainted with them, I have thought proper to insert in this place an account of an excursion I took to Paarl and its environs, just as I drew it up immediately on my return home, in a letter to a worthy friend and quondam shipmate. It is written in the true sea-style, the descriptions and narrative being plentifully interlarded with divers phrases in common use among the gallant sons of Neptune.

‘SIR,—With a carcase quite wearied out, I am just returned home from a journey on foot over the parched and torrid plains of Africa, after having had occasion to visit several African boors. So they here call a set of hearty honest fellows, who, though they do not, indeed, differ in rank from our Swedish peasants, and make no better figure than the yeomen in our country, are yet for the most part extremely wealthy. On the 9th of October in this present year I set out for the Cape, to see the burghers perform their exercise, and likewise, according to a previous agreement with Mr. O. G., a countryman of ours, to take a view of the vegetable and animal productions of this country. By this you will find, Sir, that I intended to kill two birds with one stone. With regard to the military operations, the brave warriors kept within doors on the 10th on account of the high wind, which indeed was so violent at the bottom of Lion Mountain, whither I went out a-botanising, that I was several times obliged to lay myself down upon the ground. On the 11th, the whole burgessy turned out into the field ; the coats, as well of the horse as of the foot, were, to be sure, all blue, but of such different shades that they might as well have been red, purple and yellow. Their waist-coats, particularly those of the infantry, were brown, blue and white, in short all the colours of the rainbow. A French priest, clothed in black, with red heels to his shoes, stood near me, and could not help expressing to me his amazement at seeing such a party-coloured equipment. However, this did not hinder them from going through their exercise extremely well, as a great

number of them were Europeans who had served in the last war in Germany, and since that time had been in garrison at the Cape, when, in consequence of having served five years, they had become denizens of the country. Ambitious, therefore, of keeping up their military reputation, and puffed up with pride in consequence of their superiority in point of fortune, they took it into their heads several years ago to consider it as a very disgraceful circumstance that they should be obliged to make front against the garrison, which, on their side, felt themselves so much hurt by the comparison that the attack became very serious ; so that among other things they loaded on each side with coat-buttons, pieces of money, and the like. Since this accident, both these corps are never exercised at one and the same time. Being disappointed at not having the company of our countryman, I set off on my expedition with a Mulatto for my guide, whom I hired for a quarter of a rix-dollar per diem. Over his shoulder he carried a staff, at one end of which hung my apparatus for keeping my herbs, at the other a counterpoise composed of a wallet filled with provisions and a few clothes. This guide of mine, proud of the name of bastard, soon gave me to understand that he was no slave, as most of the blacks are, but was free-born by his mother's side, as her mother was a Hottentot, and her father an European (as he supposed) of a tolerable good family. To make short of my story, I quitted the town, implicitly following my blind destiny and my tawny pilot. We steered our course north-west, and after a number of traverses over the plains by

twelve o'clock we had got to the gallows. Heus Viator ! Here we stopped a little to contemplate the uncertainty of human life. Above half a score wheels placed round it presented us with the most horrid subjects for this purpose ; the inevitable consequences, and at the same time the most flagrant proofs of slavery and tyranny ; monsters, that never fail to generate each other, together with crimes and misdemeanours of every kind, as soon as either of them is once introduced into any country. The gallows itself, the largest I ever saw, was indeed of itself a sufficiently wide door to eternity ; but was by no means too large for the purpose of a tyrannical government that in so small a town as the Cape could find seven victims to be hanged in chains. Farther on, where the sand had been formed into a hard mass by the rain water lying upon it, I found a number of cicindelæ skipping about, of an unknown species. At this my companion, who had never before seen an insect-hunter, fell a-laughing as if he was out of his wits, and seemed all wonder and astonishment.

' There is not a bridge to be found in all this part of Africa. We were therefore obliged to wade over some pretty deep brooks, and rivers, so that herborising, it must be owned, is a very troublesome business here ; but then, on the other hand, the harvest is rich. As soon as I had sat myself down, I made a curious discovery of a remarkable prickly rumex (or dock), and likewise of the tribulus terrestris. Now and then we rambled up and down recruiting for my regiment of insects and my collection of plants, an employment

which, in proportion as it enlivened my mind, infused fresh spirits into my body, and strength into my limbs. These latter I had likewise an opportunity of resting on the following occasion. Among the wagons that overtook us, there was one drawn by six pair of oxen, after the fashion of the country. In this a slave lay asleep, as drunk as David's sow, likewise in a great measure after the country fashion. Another however, more sober than he, sat at the helm, with a whip, the handle of which was three times the length of a man, and the thong in proportion. In this country they never use reins to their oxen, for which reason, though he flourished his whip about from right to left with great dexterity, the beasts, not being under much discipline, heaved continually from larboard to starboard, sometimes across the road and sometimes alongside of it ; so that the driver was not unfrequently obliged to jump off from the wagon, in order to impress his sentiments with the greater energy on the foremost oxen of the team. The wagons are so large and wide in the carriage that they cannot easily overturn, and where the road is worse than ordinary the foremost oxen are usually led. Up in the wagon sat a Dutchman, who, being much hurt at seeing me on foot, very courteously obliged me, together with my servant, to get into the wagon and ride. In about the same latitude we were overtaken by a farmer. We hailed one another, that is, we called to, and saluted each other, as ships do at sea ; and were informed by him that he was a Mother-country lad (so the Europeans are called here), and had a wife and family near the

twenty-four rivers, at the distance of forty *uurs* from thence, in one of the prettiest spots, to his mind, in the whole country. But I now began to reflect that neither Tournefort in the Levant, nor Linnæus in the Lapland mountains, nor any other botanist, had ever gone out a-herborising in a six-yoked wagon, and at the same time that my studies and collections could be in no wise forwarded by a carriage of this kind ; moreover, that although by this means my legs might get some ease, the other parts of me would suffer for it in consequence of the jolting of the carriage ; therefore, taking to my feet again, I went on till I arrived at the Company's farm. The steward (or as they call him there the *baas*) presented me with a glass of strong-bodied wine, which was by no means adapted to quench my thirst ; but the water here was brackish, and had a salt taste, and they had no milk nor cows, although there was upon the farm a considerable number of horses and other cattle. The reason of this was, that in such places there is usually stationed a guard of soldiers, who care more for wine than milk ; the pasture was likewise greatly in fault, being unfavourable for milch cows, and drying up their milk. I therefore took leave of the *baas*, an appellation given to all the Christians here, particularly to bailiffs and farmers. The next farm belonged to a peasant who was a native of Africa. I now took it into my head for the first time to make a trial of this people's so much boasted hospitality ; but unluckily the man himself was gone to the review at the Cape, and had left only a few slaves at home, under the command of an old Crone, who said that

the bed-clothes were locked up. I could easily perceive that she had as little desire to harbour me as I had to stay with her. It was now already dark, but notwithstanding this and my stiff and wearied legs I resolved to go on to another farmhouse that appeared in sight. We missed our way in a dale, and wandered among the thickets and bushes. The jackalls, or African foxes, now began their nightly serenade, pretty much in the same notes as our foxes in Europe ; frogs and owls filled up the concert with their horridly plaintive accompaniment. At length we came to a little rising ground, whence we could again discern the farm, and discover the right road. A guard of dogs, which in Africa are allowed the unlimited privilege of falling foul on such foot passengers of a night (the later the more liable to suspicion) set upon us, and frightened us not a little. It was now half an hour past eight ; however, as the people were not yet in bed, they came out to our assistance, so that we received no other wounds than those inflicted on the skirts of our coats. We were turned into the kitchen, where we heard a piece of news that sounded like a thunder-clap to us ; this was, that the *baas* or steward was gone to the review, and that every accommodation was locked up. But I felt the pressure of this difficulty still more at break of day. In the meantime the slave, with the greatest good nature and respect, begged me to be so kind as to make shift with a little tea and bread which he had of his own. My servant, together with this house-slave and another that looked after the cattle, fell on board a loaf of coarse bread and lard ;

to them a most delicate and savoury dish. After they had deliberated some time upon the matter in the Portuguese language, I was put into the absent *baas*'s own bed-chamber. The bed was tolerable, but the floor was made of loam, the walls bare, and the whole furniture consisted of a cracked tea canister, with a few empty bottles and a couple of chairs.

‘ As the door would not lock, I set the chairs against it, so that in case any attempt should be made against my life I might be awakened by the noise. After this I laid myself down to sleep, with a drawn knife under my pillow. The many murders that, to my knowledge, were committed in this country rendered this caution extremely necessary. The next morning I began to ask for my breakfast, which consisted of some stale *smalt*—a kind of lard prepared and kept in a wooden trough, to be used by way of butter ; I likewise got hold of a chop of venison, which they broiled for me, but seasoned it too high with pepper. My hunger made me so civil as not to show any slight to my black host's entertainment, but I did not sit long at table. An unexpected, but very violent quarrel, carried on in the Portuguese language, which I did not understand, now arose between the domestic slave and the cow-keeper. Both their black faces looked like coals on fire. At last the latter taking out his knife, the other was forced to buy him off with a large slice of meat ; upon which, lighting his breakfast pipe, he went his way, after they had on both sides renewed their friendship with looks of the utmost cordiality. However, for all this seeming reconciliation, the house-slave took

a cruel revenge on his antagonist's dog, which happened to stay behind in the kitchen. Yet, notwithstanding his having been guilty of so mean an action, this slave had caught so much of the generous flame of the African hospitality, that I could not easily persuade him to accept of a trifling acknowledgment for his services. Soon after break of day I set out again on my journey, when, for the first time since my arrival in these parts, my eyes were gratified with the sight of extensive corn-fields, which were now in full verdure, with their blades rising a foot out of the ground ; for in Tyger-mountain district, where I was at this time, the tillage of corn is the husbandman's chief employ. Wheat and barley, however, are the only sorts of corn that are found in the whole colony. The former is used only to be bread, the latter merely for the purpose of foddering horses ; partly in this way, that the green corn is cut down in the blade once or oftener, according as the growth of it will admit, and partly by grinding it into groats, and then mixing it with the cut straw for their horses as soon as it comes to its full growth, as it is practised with us. About ten o'clock I took shelter from the rain in a farmhouse, where I found the female slaves singing psalms, while they were at their needle-work. Their master, being possessed with a zeal for religion quite unusual in this country, had prevailed with them to adopt this godly custom ; but with that spirit of economy which universally prevails among these colonists, he had not permitted them to be initiated into the community of Christians by baptism ; since by that means, according to the laws of the land,

they would have obtained their freedom and he would have lost them from his service. This very godly *boor* was born at Berlin, and had been mate of a ship in the East Indies. This occasioned us to enter into a conversation on the victories of his much-loved monarch, and in the space of an hour after that, upon every subject that could be imagined. My throat still felt as if it was burnt up with pepper, and my stomach was tormented with hunger. The former was assuaged by a couple of glasses of wine, but being ashamed to complain of the latter, I left it to its fate to wait till noon (when perhaps I might chance to get an invitation from some good soul), and returned to my botanical calling and occupation among the shrubs and bushes, with which this country is almost entirely covered, excepting such spots as are cultivated. Hardly a stick of wood, indeed scarcely any wild tree, is to be seen here. The soil hereabouts, viz. round about Tyger-berg and Koe-berg, is, to all appearance, mostly a dry barren sand or gravel; yet, in this district, so full of hillocks, there are certain dales covered with mould, and yielding a plentiful harvest to a few peasants, who apply to the culture of lemon, orange, and pomegranate trees. At three in the afternoon I arrived at the house of farmer Van der Spoei, who was a widower, and an African born, and likewise brother to the person who, you know, is proprietor of the red or old Constantia. Without seeming to take the least notice, he stood stock-still in the house-passage waiting for my coming up, and then did not stir a single step to meet me, but taking me by the hand, greeted me with

“ Good day ! welcome ! how are you ? who are you ? a glass of wine ? a pipe of tobacco ? will you eat anything ? ” I answered his questions in the same order as he put them, and at the same time accepted of the offer he made at the close of them. His daughter, a clever well-behaved girl about twelve or fourteen years of age, set on the table a fine breast of lamb, with stewed carrots for sauce ; and after dinner offered me tea with so good a grace, that I hardly knew which to prefer, my entertainment or my fair attendant. Discretion and goodness of heart might be plainly read in the countenance and demeanour of both father and child. I several times addressed myself to my host in order to break in upon his silence. His answers were short and discreet ; but upon the whole, he never began the conversation himself, any further than to ask me to stay with them that night : however, I took leave of him, not without being much affected with a benevolence as uncommon to be met with, as undeserved on my part. In my great zeal for botany, I did not pay the least attention to my stiff and wearied legs, but hobbled as well as I could over the dry and torrid hills, moving all the day long as if I was upon stilts. Towards evening I felt myself less weary, as, by a continuation of the motion of walking and jumping, my limbs were grown more pliable. Not far from the farm we had a brook to cross, where we met with a female slave, who, very officiously and obligingly, showed us the shallowest places. She seemed to lay her account in receiving some amorous kind of acknowledgment, in which she could not be otherwise than

disappointed, as she had the misfortune to meet with a delicate as well as a weary philosopher. In the evening I arrived in good time at a farm, where the father and mother were from home, but Master John and Miss Susey gave me house-room notwithstanding. It was a handsome building, and, like all the rest on the road, composed partly of brick and partly of well-wrought clay, but without any other floor than the bare earth. I had intended to go on farther, but when I saw a large churn on the floor, and heard from Susey's own mouth that they had thirty milch-cows, you may imagine that I did not think of going, especially as I had seldom found milk very plentiful since my arrival in Africa. The farm was said to yield about three thousand two hundred bushels of corn yearly, which was from ten to fifteen times the quantity that was sown. A good wheaten loaf, light and well-baked, and about two feet in diameter, was set upon the table, and of this, with some milk and fresh butter, I made an excellent meal. They seemed to take a great pleasure in entertaining me, and (though they strove to conceal their laughter) appeared highly entertained in their turn with my broken Dutch, and my apparatus for catching and preserving insects. My collection of herbs they liked very well, as they themselves prepared a kind of plaster with herbs and wax. The next morning they brought me coffee, which I left untouched, it being full of grouts, and, according to the custom of the country, as weak as small beer. However, I set out again on my journey, quite lively and brisk after the high treat I had had of milk. As

my box of insects was already full, I was obliged to put a whole regiment of flies and other insects round the brim of my hat. On the road we passed a cow-keeper, who was roasting a small tortoise, the flesh of which tasted like that of a chicken. Two or three miles farther on we met with a shepherd, that was regaling himself with roast lamb at his master's expense. My companion, who knew the full value of his liberty, expressed great satisfaction at finding that poor slaves had sometimes an opportunity of revenging themselves on their tyrants by a breach of trust. He informed me that it was common for shepherds, who had rigid and niggardly masters, when a ewe had twins, to keep always one of them for themselves, and very often the other too, whenever they had an opportunity of concealing the theft. At three o'clock we came to another farm. Here I had some conversation with the old lady of the house about her gout, which she had in her hands and feet, and at the same time concerning her goodman's rheumatism, which in order to get rid of by sweating, he was gone on a journey to the warm baths. A house plastered up in a slovenly manner with clay, a heap of dirty scabby children, a female slave dragging after her a heavy iron chain fastened to one of her legs, the features of the old woman herself, her peaked nose, her perpetually scolding her servants, and lastly, her entertaining me with nothing but cold water, plainly indicated that poverty dwelt in her house, and at the same time that the gout had in her choleric temperament a very fertile soil to grow in. She advised me to set myself down in the *Paarl* (a tract

of ground a very little way from thence, planted with vines, and inhabited by wine-dressers), in order to make my fortune by turning quack. She informed me that there had been a physician there before, who had had no practice, as his price was too high. She said that she never could nor ever should, be persuaded to be bled, or to take any kind of physic ; nevertheless, she thought it very comfortable for a person to have access to a physician in case of sickness. You see, Sir, that an African cottage will afford you a view of mankind similar to what you may have had in the palaces of Europe, where (it must be owned) they call in physicians to their assistance, but seldom fail to manage themselves in a great measure according to their own caprice. In pursuance of the information I got I took the road to the right, which, I was told, would carry me to the house of a rich and infirm widow of fifty-two years of age. My servant, who was acquainted there, warned me not to frighten the good woman into fits with my insects stuck on the brim of my hat ; for which reason, having arrived there about five o'clock, and been well received by her, I took care to turn the crown of my hat away from her, and afterwards hid my hat in a corner of the room. Immediately my mouth was crammed with bread, butter, and cheese, wine and tea, and at the same time was employed in giving dissertations on the gout, apoplexy, violent bleedings at the nose, coughs, and her poor deceased husband's dropsy. The good lady was attentive to hear, and I to eat, as much as ever my lectures would permit me. During these, a tell-tale hussey of a female slave,

who was a favourite with her mistress, had been pumping my servant in the kitchen, on which she whispered her mistress in the ear, that my hat was full of little beasts (*kleine bestjes*). The old lady immediately quitted the fine instructions that I was giving with respect to diet, in order to go and look at the strange and wonderful sight that was to be seen on my hat. But what astonished her the most in this affair, was to see the little animals run through the body with pins, and fastened to the brim of my hat. An explanation was required on the spot. It was now necessary for me to cease eating for a while, for fear of being choked with some of the big words and long Dutch phrases, which I was obliged to coin on the spot, in order to convince her of the great utility of understanding these little animals for medical and economical purposes, and at the same time to the glory of the great Creator. Fortunately for me I descanted on this subject with great success, though not without some inquietude ; for, in case I had not succeeded, I should certainly have been turned out of doors for a conjuror (*bexmeester*) : but now, on the contrary, the good woman begged me to stay, and I promised myself a good night's rest in such an elegant and well-furnished house. Soon after there came a light cart with company. This consisted first, of her daughter, secondly of a very stout fat country squire or yeoman, Mr. M—, who was said to be able to give each of his daughters four thousand guineas on their marriage, one of whom had, by some accident or other, already lain in of a black child, the father of which, as a reward for his

kindness, had been advanced from the condition of slave to that of prisoner for life in one of the Robben isles, and the lady herself to that of wife to her father's bailiff ; thirdly, the squire's half-brother, still more corpulent than himself. The father of these gentlemen was a native of Livonia, and had been a soldier in the Swedish service. They had seen an insect-hunter before, but when they looked into my collection of herbs and found it to contain not only flowers, but likewise grass and small branches of shrubs and trees, they could not forbear laughing at a sight so unexpected. The young lady got from me all the intelligence I could give her on the subject of pimples and freckles, and, by way of reimbursing myself, I asked her several questions concerning domestic remedies and the warm bath, which she had lately used for three weeks. She, likewise, together with her mother, advised me to practise physic in Paarl ; but it is a great pity, they added, that a man who seems to understand our disorders so well, should speak our language so ill.

‘There was no milk to be had here, but the want of it was amply supplied by a very good and well-dressed supper. The wine went round in bumpers to each other’s healths, and to the continuance of our friendship and acquaintance. The conversation turned upon various subjects, and among others, those of corpulency and the custom of sleeping after dinner ; and the efficient cause of these, viz. the Livonian gentleman’s use of the warm bath in this climate, was discussed with great precision. We wished one another a good night ; but I myself rested very ill ; for the

unusually pursy batchelor who fell to my share snored continually, and proved very troublesome. He looked indeed very good-humoured, as well as his lively and *plaisirige broeder*, but was not able to say much ; and when he did speak, he wheezed so much, as to be for the most part unintelligible to me. He puffed and blowed more in putting on his shoes and stockings than I did when I last went up Table Mountain. The next morning I bid these good people adieu, and took the road leading to Mountain river in Paarl. The ferry lay a good deal out of my way, who had no particular business to transact on the other side ; so that having observed an uncultivated islet, three or four fathoms distant from the banks, where the sheep and goats could not get to forestall me in the blooming produce of the soil, I ventured over on some bundles of the palmites, I spoke of above (*acorus palmita*), which were so smooth and brittle that, if I had chanced to make the least slip, I must have been inevitably drowned by getting between them or else under them. My hat and queue excepted, I went a botanising on this island in the same dress as Adam wore in his state of innocence. My skin quite parched up by the sun served, however, to convince me that I had lost in my little paradise the dominion over the gnats and horse-flies. These diminutive animals soon obliged me to turn back and put on my clothes, when I afterwards botanised along the course of the river, and so passing through several farms I arrived at Paarl at a miller's, who was sitting and taking his afternoon's nap. A more serious and seemingly surly chap I never

saw in my life. He set before me an old crazy chair, and without asking who I was, said directly “What will you chuse to have?” (*Wat zal ye bruken?*) “I see,” replied I, “you have got some tea, be so kind as to give me some bread to it, for I am both hungry and thirsty; I have spent the whole day in culling of simples.” “What, have you eat nothing to-day? Girl, bring some meat, bread, and a bottle of wine!” says the crossgrained old fellow. Accordingly, I ate my bellyful and afterwards drank to his health; during the whole of which time he was smoking his pipe in silence, and poring over an astrological almanack of the last century. During all which time he did not once address himself to me; and to a question or two I asked him, he answered me so short that I imagined he was extremely displeased with my visit, and therefore could not help pressing him to accept of a pecuniary recompence for my entertainment. He answered me positively with a most inflexible air, “No; that I certainly will not; it is our duty to assist travellers.” For my servant, without my knowledge, had ordered a good luncheon of bread and meat, but did not follow me half way over his slippery loam-floor when I took leave of him. Affected with an internal sense of gratitude, I wished within myself that heaven might pardon so worthy a miller, in case he should at any time chance to trespass on his neighbour’s corn.

‘ A little farther on lived a *Koster*, that is, a Sexton, a set of people that are more respected by the Calvinists than with us. He was of black extraction by the mother’s side. I went in, sat myself down, and drank

a dish of miserable tea without sugar. The Koster's wife, who was rather in years, was then sick in bed. I enquired into the nature of the disorder : but when I was told that the patient, notwithstanding the use of the warm bath for three weeks, remained as it were contracted in all her limbs, and her joints quite filled up with chalk-stones, I did not chuse to say anything more than that the gout was a terrible affliction, shrugged up my shoulders, and inquired for the right road. Just before the door grew the *Cataputia*. I asked the man if he made any use of the seeds, or whether I might gather any of it ? He answered, he did not use them himself, but in general gave them to his friends : "Gather what you will," continued he, "I never heard anybody ask after them before; what do you want them for ?" "For medical purposes," replied I. I now had brought an old house over my head, and was obliged to go in again and hear the account of the old woman's illness, as well as explain the cause of it. However, I thought it necessary to inform her, with very little circumlocution, that her stay in this calamitous world was likely to be of very short duration. She was glad to be freed from her misery, and her husband to get rid of a sickly wife ; on which account they both of them seemed to hear my fateful prognostic with pleasure, and made me drink a couple of glasses of wine for my pains ; and at the same time offered to show me the church, which stood just by. By this edifice I could plainly perceive that these boors bestowed no more pains on God's house than they did upon their own. This church was, indeed, as big as one of our

largest-sized hay-barns, and neatly covered, as the other houses are, with dark-coloured reeds ; but without any arching or ceiling, so that the transoms and beams withinside made a miserable appearance. Altars and altar-tables are, I believe, never used in the reformed church. There were benches on the sides for the men, but the women have each of them their chair or stool in the aisle. The pulpit was too plain and slovenly.

‘ From hence I set off for home by a bye-way, as little known to my guide as to myself. Eighteen China oranges, which I had bought in Paarl for one skelling Dutch, proved extremely serviceable to me at this time ; and a large roll of tobacco, which my servant had taken with him, was a still more desirable *vade mecum* for him. He carried really a heavy load, which, however, appeared to be very little burden to him. On the other hand, however, it must be confessed that he went on always in a strait line, while I continually ran from one side to the other, peeping among the bushes. It was already dark when we arrived at a farmhouse, where the boor himself was not at home. During his absence I drew his wife into a conversation concerning household affairs, and found (what I much wondered at in so substantial a house) that they had seldom any great plenty of milk ; and this on account of the dry barren hills near them, and other causes not worth mentioning here ; but that, on the other hand, they had a good stock of sheep, some arable land, and vineyards, which, by means of water-conduits, might be rendered fertile. She was a generous and good kind of woman as one would wish to see,



MALAY BOY OF CAPE TOWN

From Angas's "Kaffirs" (London, 1849)

but unluckily happened to offer me just everything that I did not wish for, wine, brandy, and tobacco. Her husband, a very brisk lively old fellow, being at last come home, immediately drank to me, saying : “ Perhaps you suppose that nobody knows anything but yourself, with your herbs and you, but you shall see that we African peasants are not all so stupid as you think for.” Upon this, by way of *surprising* me, he displayed a few good books and a heap of trash, on almost every science ; all of which I could do no other than commend, as he did nothing but run between me and his bookcase, and read over the whole title-page of every book, the printer’s and bookseller’s name not excepted. “ You see,” says he, “ that I do not spend my whole time in following the plough.” We almost called one another cousin-germans, he being a Livonian and I a Swede. At night there was no danger of starving for want of victuals. “ You must eat hearty with us farmers,” said the kind-hearted dame. “ Eat and spare not : we do not grudge it you.” They had their butter and cheese, together with hung-beef, or rather buffalo flesh, from their grazing farms, almost six hundred miles up the country. By the appearance of the soup and green peas I could plainly perceive that my learned host had not studied any books of cookery, which in Africa would have been of much more use to him than poetry and the dead languages. The good woman of the house was obliged to go to bed alone, while her husband employed himself with the history of Josephus, in order to convince me of his great attachment to study. Accordingly many

people in this country call their slaves, some after the months and others after the days of the week in which they were born. Early in the morning I was waked here by the horrid shrieks and cries of January and February, who were undergoing the discipline of their master's lash, because the horses had not been found the preceding evening. Soon after the family got ready for going to church, but were prevented by a shower of rain. In the meantime we ate our breakfasts, and drank to each other's health ; upon which I returned them thanks and took leave of them, with a luncheon of bread and butter doubled together and stuffed into my coat-pocket by my host and hostess, by way of (*weegkost*) or provision for my journey. I was secretly much affected at receiving such tokens of goodwill, quite undeserved on my part, from the hands of people to whom I was an entire stranger.

' The woman was goodness itself, but this goodness was enshrined in a mighty phlegmatic body. The old fellow's phraseology, as well as his library, discovered that he was, as well as myself, a run-away student. I likewise afterwards came to know that he had been a surgeon, and had been sent thither as a soldier by kidnappers ; and at the same time I learned that he had got the greater part of his books by marriage with a parson's daughter, his present wife. The good woman could not have chosen to counteract her phlegm a more choleric piece of goods for a husband, who, in spite of a naturally good disposition, was said, for trifling faults, to have beat several of his slaves to death. I could give you, Sir, many instances that the exercise of any crime

whatsoever, particularly such as the slave trade, or the trafficking with the liberties of mankind, never fails to plunge men into disorders and misdemeanours of various kinds.

‘On the lands belonging to this farm stands the Tower of Babel, so they call a hill, which is mentioned by this name by Kolbe, as being of a remarkable size, and which will ever remain a standing monument of this author’s inaccuracy. I pass over my little adventures with serpents, scorpions, cameleons, and other animals of the lizard kind, well knowing that you are endued with taste enough to take pleasure in, and be sensible of, the beauties of these reptiles, a race of animals with which this Canaan of Africa abounds. But I must not omit to tell you how puzzled and undetermined we frequently were on our return homewards, particularly once on a large plain. Almost at the end of it we met with seven of the company’s servants or soldiers, but by no means to our advantage ; for these my fellow-Christians, intoxicated with the wine which they carried about them in leathern bottles or calabasses, were at variance among themselves, and seemingly did not wish to give us any information, as every one of them pointed out to us an almost entirely different way. Jabbering to me all at once in High Dutch, Low Dutch, Hanoverian, etc., they all endeavoured to make me believe that I should meet with rivers, mountains, deserts, and the like, if, according to their sea dialect, I did not steer my course right. Another asked me whither I was bound ? and then told me how I should lay my tacks to starboard and

larboard. I thanked them, and got away from them as well as I could ; on which they formed a ring round my servant, and chattered to him about the road till his head was quite turned. At length they got into a dispute themselves about the same subject, by which means we both got loose from them. What was now to be done ? Being without chart or compass, I endeavoured to direct my course by the sun, till I overtook a black heathen who was tending sheep ; and in consequence of whose sober and sensible directions I arrived in the evening at a farmhouse, the bailiff of which, a Hanoverian, welcomed me in the most friendly manner, with a hearty slap of the hand, in the African style. He entertained me with milk, and an account of the love affairs and intrigues he had when he was a soldier in England. He also gave me a list (which, by his desire, I took down in my pocket-book, as the result of his own experience) of the constant order of precedence in love, which ought to be observed among the fair sex in Africa : this was as follows. First the Madagascar women, who are the blackest and handsomest ; next to these the Malabars, then the Bugunese or Malays, after these the Hottentots, and last and worst of all, the white Dutch women. The excessively nice stewed cabbage we had for supper, he supposed to be the best in the world ; and at the same time, that its crispness proceeded from the soil being highly impregnated with saltpetre. In fact, the land here was sandy and low, and probably contained much sea-salt. Being but two Christians among twelve or fourteen men slaves, we bolted the door fast, and had five loaded pieces hung

over our bed. During the whole evening I had seen the slaves in such good humour, and so kindly and familiarly treated, that (with regard to their temporal matters at least) they really seemed to be better off than many servants in Europe ; I therefore observed to my host that his mildness and kindness was the best pledge for their good behaviour, and the surest preservative against their attacks. "It may be so," replied he, "but besides that, several runaways and rebel slaves are continually wandering about, in order to plunder houses of victuals and fire-arms, or else to draw others over to their party ; we have likewise instances of the blacks becoming furious at night and committing murder, more particularly on the persons of their masters ; but sometimes, if they cannot get at them, on some of their comrades, or else upon themselves. I am here in the place of a master to them, and am obliged to punish them whenever they behave ill to me or each other. The Bugunese, in particular, are revengeful and nice about the administration of justice. In order to avoid jealousy, quarrels, and murder, my master does not permit any female slaves to be kept here ; but I could wish it were otherwise, as well as in other places, where I formerly was a servant. Now they are lonesome and solitary, and consequently slow and sluggish enough. The chief of my master's income from this farm arises from the breeding of horses. Could he keep female slaves here, he would get still more by the propagation of the human species ; and indeed, a female slave who is prolific is always sold for three times as much as one that is barren."

' From the information that I have just given you, you will perhaps, my good friend, be apt to think with me, that even the most supportable kind of tyranny always brings with it its own punishment, in troubled sleep and an uneasy conscience. Slaves, even under the mildest tyrant, are bereaved of the rights of nature. The melancholy remembrance of so painful a loss is most apt to arise during the silence of the night, when it ceases to be dissipated by the bustle of the day. What wonder, then, if those who commit outrages on their liberties should sometimes be forced to sign and seal with their blood the violated rights of mankind ? Ought not my host, gentle as he was, to fear the effects of despair on twelve stout fellows forcibly taken from their native country, their kindred, and their freedom ? Is it not likewise to be dreaded that thus shut out from the commerce of the fair sex, which sweetens life, and renders its cares supportable, their inclinations, which are extremely warm, should trespass against manhood ? In the course of our conversation on rural economy, I took notice that a slave born in the country (especially a bastard), who can drive a waggon safe and well, and who can be trusted to inspect the other slaves, or is looked upon as a clever and faithful servant, bears the price of five hundred rix-dollars. One that is newly brought from Madagascar, or is in other respects not so skilful nor so much to be depended upon, costs from an hundred to an hundred and fifty rix-dollars. A horse that in Sweden would fetch ten rix-dollars, costs at the Cape from thirty to forty ; a draught ox from eight to ten ; but a tolerable good milch-cow from

twelve to fourteen ; one ditto brought from the mother-country or any part of Europe, and of a sort that produces a great quantity of milk, sells for forty or fifty rix-dollars, and the purchaser thinks himself favoured into the bargain ; all which has since been confirmed to me by several others.

‘ On Monday morning I took leave, and asked the road towards home, when I was answered, “ There is no road this way. You must leave the road that goes to the Cape to the right, and then go strait forward through the bushes, when you will come within sight of the mountain that stretches itself between Constantia and the Cape ; then go strait forward over the dry barren plains to the nook in the mountain ; you may remember it lies very near Constantia and your house. You will find no more farms in your way home.” Well ! thought I to myself, this looks as if I should dine upon grass to-day ; I was vexed at having had no breakfast, and was too bashful to give a hint of it to my host, who the day before had received me with such hospitality. We had not long been in sight of the mountain, before we saw a cloud arise from it, which did not turn to rain till we arrived at the plain we were in. This shower, which was pretty heavy, subjected me to the greatest inconveniences, having exposed myself to be wet through, in order to shelter my herbal. But of such a nature is this climate that in a few minutes, as soon as the sun shone out again, I was quite dry. In the evening, when I came to Alphen, I learned, that it had not rained there in the least, but the cloud covered the mountain in its usual way.

‘ I must not omit to tell you, that on the road I several times entered into a religious discourse with my heathen companion ; he asserted that I was the first that had spoken to him on that subject, at the same time that he was so stupid (for so he called himself) as not to know or comprehend anything concerning it, nor did he think it was for him to trouble himself with these matters ; however, he did not seem unwilling to believe everything that anybody should think proper to tell him. His thoughts had never ascended to a superior being, nor led him to the first origin of any thing, to the creature or to the Creator. He very well knew that the white men assembled together in the churches, but had never thought of asking to what purpose. Very likely it may be so, was the answer he usually gave me when I talked to him on this subject. Notwithstanding this, he seemed to have in some measure an abhorrence of vice, and a veneration for what was good. The person who at that time recommended him to my service gave him the character of being extremely faithful. In other respects his mind was capable enough of being illuminated ; but as the making of proselytes brings the Dutch in neither capital nor interest, this poor soul, with many others of his countrymen, was neglected. But more of this and other matters by the next opportunity that offers.

‘ With the botanical excursion, the detail of which is given in this letter, I was extremely well pleased on several accounts. The six last days of it might almost be called a forced march, intermixed with a good deal

of leaping and (what tires one full as much) clambering. With the same inclination, however, I think I could have lasted out several days longer in the same manner. The next day after my departure from the Cape was, as I have already related, the most tiresome to me ; afterwards both my limbs and joints seemed to get more used to the exercise. The two or three first days after I had got home, I felt myself sore and tender, or, as people usually express it, beat and bruised all over, but this went off by degrees : in like manner as, thanks to the violent exercise I had taken, some disagreeable though slight touches of a rheumatic gout entirely vanished, with which I had been troubled some time before, and that chiefly in rainy weather ; and which did not return upon me, before I was exposed to the cold in the Antarctic polar circle. After my return home, however, I was wise enough to make a little excursion every day.'

RESIDENCE AT ALPHEN AFTER THE AUTHOR'S RETURN FROM PAARL

'IN one of my excursions I had the good fortune to meet with Mr. Hemmings, the sub-governor, on his farm, in the district of Constantia ; who, though he thought highly of the science of botany, was yet astonished that my enthusiasm for it should have carried me so far about in the space of six days, viz. from the Cape over Tiger-berg, through Paarl, Botlary, and so in a circle home again, and this by no means by the nearest way.

Mr. Hemming's garden was one of the best in the

district ; he had taken pains to procure grafts of orange and lemon-trees and layers of the pomegranate from Spain, from which he promised himself fruit equal to the Spanish, as what grows at the Cape at present is not quite so good. Divers sorts of cherry-trees, that grow here, scarcely produced a single cherry, though various trials had been made with them in different spots. The best method he had found of rooting out a *uniola*, which was overrunning his kitchen garden, was to sow it with cabbage for a year, as he had observed that this weed never thrrove on land where cabbages had been sown. The *pisang* was to be met with in his garden of a luxuriant growth, but was said not to produce fruit of so high a flavour as it does in its native country. A species of this grows wild in the Houtniquas country, a district somewhat to the east of the Muscle Bay ; though I could never find it there myself.

‘I continued at the farm at Alphen till about the middle of November. Entirely taken up with the Cape plants, I did not seldom revolve in my mind how I should go on with them for months and years ensuing ; but fate had ordered it otherwise. In fact, it was ordained that I should suddenly change the continent of Africa, its delightful summer-climate and its beautiful flowers, for a bleak cold ocean, blocked up with mountains of ice.’

FRANÇOIS LE VAILLANT

[François Le Vaillant is in his way the most entertaining of all our travellers. He was born in Parimaribo, in Dutch Guiana, in 1753, his father being a Frenchman. Thus, like Dumas, he was at least half French by race, and he was more French than the French in temperament. He tells us how in his native home his passion for natural history was developed, and how, when his parents went to Europe, he continued his pursuits, becoming a great bird-hunter in Germany and Alsace-Lorraine. His zeal for ornithology, for sport, and for the savage life, as he imagined it, led him to make an expedition to the Cape. He sailed from the Texel at the end of 1781 in the *Held-Woltemaade*, a ship called after the hero of Thunberg's story, afterwards captured by Johnstone in Saldanha Bay. Le Vaillant had shipped to the *Middleburg*, which was blown up on the same occasion, and lost all his goods with the exception of ten ducats, the clothes he stood in, and his fowling-piece. He was, however, befriended by the Dutch Fiscal, Mr. Boers, and at the end of 1781 set out on his first and most famous journey. He went by Swellendam and Algoa Bay, as far east as the Fish River, visited the 'Gonaqua' Hottentots, passed through the 'Camdeboo' country, crossed the Karoo, and returned to his friend Slaber near Saldanha Bay in April 1783. After visiting Cape Town, and finding it to his delight much Frenchified, he again set out, and is said to have got as far north as the Tropic of Capricorn, crossing the Orange River, and visiting Namaqualand, Damaraland, parts of Bechuanaland and the Kalahari Desert. Unfortunately Le Vaillant cannot be implicitly believed, and the extent of his travels remains in doubt, while his observations of the natives are tinged with the sentimentalism of Rousseau and Chateaubriand. Where he is

really interesting to us is in his temperament. He must be the life original of Tartarin, and surpasses that worthy in what may be called Tarasconade. His adventures with the Hottentot ladies, his love for Narina, his marvellous leopard hunt, his toilet in the wilderness, in such passages as these he delineates himself, inside and out, with a rich unconscious humour, our stage idea of the sporting Frenchman.]

I

THE AUTHOR'S APPEARANCE

As I would not present myself to this respectable nation like a tired huntsman, who worn by hunger and fatigue is obliged to stop at the first place he can find ; in the morning I dressed myself with great care, powdering my hair, and combing my beard to make it set in the best manner possible : it was not a ridiculous whim, as has been said, that had bade me let it grow for a year (for though negligent of my person exact cleanliness was my greatest pleasure), the project was conceived before I left the Cape. As I was well informed of the wars between the Caffres and colonists, it was necessary that I should have the appearance of an entire stranger, who visited this country from curiosity, without any connection with the colonists. My plan succeeded, and in all the Hoards I visited, I was received as a superior being. The invincible dislike I had to tobacco and brandy, so much prized by the colonists and savages, increased their astonishment. The knowledge of this favourable idea gave me an assurance, nay, even inspired me with a degree of intrepidity which was of the greatest utility ; these were advantages which other travellers (from not

having used the same precautions) have not enjoyed. I went everywhere without fear, and might have crossed the centre of Africa into Barbary without inquietude, had not the soil forbidden it.

But the extremes of hunger and thirst will ever be unsurmountable barriers to such a hazardous expedition ; for in a journey of that length, and where a number of desert wilds form a principal part, it must be absolutely necessary to make a large provision : how this is to be done (in countries whereof some are totally and others almost unknown) is a question at present as impenetrable as these unexplored regions.

But to return to my dress ; among other suits, I had one of dark brown with diamond-cut steel buttons ; this I chose for my visiting habit, for the sunbeams reflecting on my buttons would make me an object of admiration to the savages ; under this I put a white waistcoat, and in lieu of boots a pair of nankeen trousers ; I happened to have a pair of European shoes in my wardrobe, those I likewise put on, not forgetting my large silver buckles, which by chance were very sparkling ; I ardently wished for a gold-laced hat, but wishes were in vain ; my trousers rendered my brilliant knee-buckles useless, but I was resolved they should not be lost, so made them up into a kind of clasp for my hat, which was decorated with an elegant plume of ostrich feathers.

The accoutrements of my horse did not answer to the ornaments of his master ; the panther skin that would have been thought beautiful in France, was nothing in the eyes of a savage ; had he been decorated

with even the worst of those scarlet housings that cover the backs of the horses which pass weekly from Paris to Poissy, what an object would he have been for admiration !

I had ordered my faithful Klaas to attend me on horseback ; he had likewise adorned himself in the best manner he could ; but wishing to distinguish him, I gave him an old pair of red breeches, which were put on with an air of vanity that showed the importance he received from this decoration.

II

THE TIGER HUNT

ONE evening that I returned early, I found at our dwelling one of the inhabitants I was unacquainted with ; he had been waiting for me ; his name was Smit ; he was come to solicit our assistance against a tiger that had for some time infested his division and carried away regularly every night some of his cattle ; his entreaty gave me pleasure, I accepted it with joy, delighted to have a regular chase of that animal, and determined to revenge myself on this, for the fright I had before received from his fellow. We fixed on the next day, persuading some young men in the environs to accompany us ; I remarked they did not much like the business : however, I contrived to shame the most fearful, and this served as a spur to the rest. We got together all the dogs we could find, and provided ourselves with arms. Thus everything ready prepared for the assault, we separated until morning. I then

went to bed, but could not close my eyes from impatience ; at break of day I gained the plain with my escort (Smit and some of his friends) ; we were in all eighteen, about the same number of dogs. Smit informed us the tiger had that night robbed him of a sheep. One of my guns was loaded with large pieces of lead, another with shot, and a carbine with balls, two of which my Hottentot carried as he followed me. The country was tolerably open, except here and there a few divided thickets, which we were obliged to beat with great precaution.

After an hour's fruitless search we found the half devoured carcase of the sheep ; this assured us the animal was not far off, and could not escape. Some few moments after our dogs, who till that time had been beating confusedly about, pressed together and rushed within two hundred paces of us into a large thicket, barking and howling as loud as possible.

I leaped from my horse, gave him to my Hottentot, and running to the side of the thicket, got on a rising ground within fifty paces ; casting my eyes back I perceived my companions were alarmed. However, John Slaber (son of my host) came up saying he would not abandon me, though in danger of his life. By the agitation of his appearance, and the fear which was marked on his countenance, I judged the poor lad gave himself up for lost, I well knew that the apparent firmness of another would encourage him, and indeed, though his terror was extreme, I believe he thought himself in greater security when near me, than in the midst of his poltroon companions, who were gazing

upon us at a respectful distance. I had been told that in case I should be near enough to the animal to be heard, I must not say Saa, saa, for that word would render the beast furious, and that he would rush on the person that uttered it : as I had company, I was not afraid of being surprised, therefore repeated the word a hundred times together, by the way of encouraging the dogs, and likewise to drive the beast from the thicket ; but all in vain, the animal and dogs were equally fearful of each other, the former not daring to quit his retreat, nor the latter to enter it ; yet among the mastiffs there were some that must have succeeded had their courage equalled their strength ; my dog, the smallest of the pack, was always at their head, he alone advancing a little into the thicket. It is true, he knew me, and was animated by my voice. The hideous beast roared terribly, every moment I expected it to rush out, the dogs on its smallest motion drew hastily back, and ran as fast as possible ; at length a few random shot dislodged him, and he rushed out suddenly : his appearance seemed the signal for every one to decamp, even John Slaber (formed with the strength of a Hercules, able to wrestle with the animal, and strangle him in his arms) abandoned me, and ran to the others—I remained alone with my Hottentot. The panther, in endeavouring to gain another thicket, passed within fifty paces of us, with all the dogs at his heels ; we saluted him by firing three shot as he passed us.

The thicket in which he had taken refuge was neither so high, large, or bushy as the one he had

quitted ; a track of blood made me presume I had wounded him, and the fury of the dogs was a proof I was not mistaken ; a number of my people now drew near, but the greater part had entirely disappeared.

The animal was baited more than an hour, we firing into the thicket more than forty random shot ; at length (tired and impatient with this tedious business) I remounted my horse, and turned with precaution on the opposite side to the dogs. I imagined that employed in defending himself against them, it would be easy to get behind him ; I was not mistaken ; I saw him squatting, and striking with his paws to keep at bay my dog that ran barking within the reach of his fangs. When I had taken the necessary steps to catch him in a good situation, I fired my carbine, this I immediately dropped to catch up my gun, which I carried at the bow of my saddle ; this precaution was useless, the animal did not appear, nor could I see him after firing my carbine. Though I was sure I had hit him, it would have been imprudent to have rushed immediately into the thicket. As he made no noise, I suspected he was dead or mortally wounded ; ‘ Friends,’ cried I to the hunters that approached, ‘ let us go in a firm line strait up to him ; if he is yet alive, all our pieces fired together will overcome him and we can be in no danger ’ ; one person only answered, and that was in the negative ; in short, none liked the proposal. Enraged, I said to my Hottentot (who was not less animated than his master) ‘ Comrade, the animal is either dead, or near it, get on horseback, approach as I did, and try to discover in what state we have put him ; I will

guard the entrance, and if he attempts to escape, will shoot him ; we shall be able to finish him without the assistance of these cowards.'

No sooner had he entered than he called to me that the tiger was extended, without motion, and he believed him dead ; but to be assured, he fired his carbine ; I ran, transported with pleasure : my brave Hottentot partook my exultation, triumph redoubled our force ; we dragged the animal from the thicket, he seemed enormous ; I examined him particularly, turning him from side to side ; this was my first essay, and by chance, the tiger was monstrous ; it was a male. From the extremity of the tail to the nose, he measured seven feet ten inches, to a circumference of two feet ten inches. I found that he exactly answered the description of the panther given by Buffon, but through all this country he is known by no other name than the tiger, though it is only the prevalence of custom, for in this part of Africa there are no tigers, the difference between that animal and the panther being very great. The Hottentots call it garou gama, or the spotted lion.

In general, in the colonies of the Cape, they fear the panther more than the lion, the latter, never approaching without roaring terribly, himself giving a signal for preparation and defence ; confiding in his strength, his attack is open ; the others, on the contrary, ever approach without noise, watch with art, and fall on their prey before it is aware of their appearance. I had many occasions afterwards of seeing different species of these animals ; one called the luypar, by the Hollanders, which signifies leopard ;

another small one called the tiger cat, is the offelot of Buffon, of which I shall speak more hereafter.

When I had finished my remarks on the panther, and taken a drawing, we prepared to skin him ; my timerous companions drew near by little and little ; it is true, they had reason to blush in the presence of a stranger, who on this occasion had shown more intrepidity than any of those who were bred and born, if I may so speak, among the monsters of Africa. When we had finished our operation, my Hottentot wrapped the skin about him, and saluting our hunters, we returned homewards, and walked in triumph, accompanied by several dogs whose masters had decamped at the beginning of the chase ; they approached us fearfully, the tiger's skin keeping them in awe ; sometimes the Hottentot turned, pretending to run at them, it was then a trial of skill who should run the fastest ; this caused us a great deal of diversion.

Accounts of this expedition were soon spread, and I received some compliments on my behaviour, even from those who had so ill seconded me.

Soon after this expedition, another colonist who was unknown to me, and lived about four leagues off, sent to entreat that I would assist his sons in destroying a panther that infested his vicinity.

The experience I had gained on my first essay did not engage me to wish for a second, I therefore declined the proposal, having resolved to expose myself no more, to the danger of being the victim of another desertion ; ‘No,’ answered I, ‘tell your master I am not come into these countries to destroy the race of

tigers, I was too ill seconded in my first attempt, for which reason I shall not wilfully engage in another; should chance lead me into a like situation, I hope I shall be able to defend myself without asking for assistance, therefore I shall not lend any.'

III

THE MONKEY KEES

AN animal which rendered me still more essential service, whose diverting presence has suspended, nay, even dissipated a number of disagreeable and painful reflections, and whose provident instinct seemed to outstrip the efforts of my reason, was a monkey of that kind commonly known at the Cape under the name of *Bawians*. He was very familiar, and particularly attached to me; I made him my taster. Whenever we found any fruits or roots unknown to my Hottentots, we never attempted to eat them till they had been presented to *Kees*, and if rejected by him we concluded they were either disagreeable or dangerous, and abandoned them accordingly. Animals of the monkey kind seem distinguished from others by their similarity to the human species.

Nature has furnished this creature with an equal quantity of gluttony and curiosity; without appetite he will taste everything that is presented to him; without necessity he will examine everything he can lay his paws on. *Kees* possessed another quality still more estimable than those I have already mentioned. His extreme vigilance rendered him my greatest safe-

guard both day and night. The approach of the smallest danger roused him in an instant ; by his cries and frightened gestures we received intimation of the enemy even before my dogs suspected it. They were accustomed to his voice and manner, and seemed to rely so much on his care that they slept at their ease ; and I was not without my fears, that if death should deprive me of my faithful guardian, I should not find that security from them I had flattered myself with, and which I thought I had a right to expect. When once *Kees* had raised them, they seemed very attentive to his signals : they watched his eyes and motions, and I observed never failed to run all together towards the spot that his looks were directed to. I often took him a-shooting with me : what gambols ! what expressions of joy ! would be manifest on seeing me prepare to depart : he would leap upon and caress me, seeming by his looks and actions to entreat me to hasten my departure, and express his gratitude for admitting him to be of my party.

During our journey he would amuse himself with climbing the trees to search for gum, which he was very fond of ; sometimes he discovered honey in the crevices of the rock, or in hollow trees ; but when he happened not to find anything of this sort, and his appetite, sharpened by fatigue and exercise, urged him more forcibly to seek a supply, a scene commenced which, to me, was extremely entertaining. In these emergencies he would dig for roots, which, when found, were presently demolished. He seemed particularly fond of a kind which, unluckily for him, I also found

extremely good and refreshing, and ever obstinately persisted in partaking with him.

Kees was artful ; and if he happened to find any of this root when I was at a distance from him, in order to prevent my coming in for my share, would eat it up with the greatest eagerness, fixing, at the same time, his eyes ardently on me ; and seeming to calculate, by the distance I was at, the time I should be getting to him. I observed his haste was ever in proportion to the danger he supposed he ran of losing a part of his prize ; and, in general, he was too quick for me ; but sometimes, having found more than he had time to make away with, he would endeavour to conceal it on my coming up with him ; on these occasions I usually favoured him with a good box on the ear which never failed to make him give up the residue, when he was obliged to content himself with the part I chose to allot him. *Kees* never entertained any animosity, though I sometimes gave him occasion, by keeping the whole, to reflect on that greedy selfishness of which he had set the example.

He had a very ingenious method of coming at these roots, which used to amuse me extremely. He took the tuft of leaves between his teeth, then bearing upon his forepaws, forced back his head, and generally drew out the root to which they adhered. When this means, which required all his strength, happened to fail, he again took hold of it closer to the earth, and giving a sudden spring, never failed to draw it up with him.

In our walks, when he found himself fatigued, he

would mount upon the back of one or other of my dogs, who usually had the complaisance to carry him, even for hours together ; but there was one among them bigger and stronger than the rest, and who ought rather to have offered his service on these occasions, that had a droll method of getting rid of his burden : the moment he felt *Kees* upon his shoulders he became immovable, and suffered me to proceed with the rest of the dogs without stirring from the spot. *Kees*, rather obstinate on his part, would usually maintain his seat till I had almost got out of sight ; when, fearful of being left behind, he was constrained to alight ; and then both monkey and dog used to set off full speed to rejoin us ; but I observed the dog always let *Kees* keep ahead, taking care that he should not surprise him a second time. He had acquired over the rest of my pack an ascendancy which was, doubtless, owing to the superiority of his instinct ; for with animals as among men, it is frequently observable that address subdues strength.

Kees never cared to have company at his meals, and when any of my dogs approached too near his mess, he was sure to treat them with a box on the ear, which was always sufficient to make the cowardly animals make the best use of their legs.

One singularity which I never could account for was, that next to the serpent, he was most afraid of his own species. Whether he was sensible that his present domestic state had deprived him of part of his faculties, or was fearful that any other should partake of my kindness ; for I could easily have taken some wild

ones and tamed them ; but I never had any such intention ; I had an attachment for *Kees*, which prevented my wishing for any other of his kind.

He sometimes heard the monkeys screaming in the mountains ; and, notwithstanding his fears, seemed instinctively to answer their cries ; but when any one appeared, he ran with the utmost precipitation, and trembling with fear, seemed to implore our protection.

At these times we always had enough to do to calm his terror. He was a great thief, which is a fault common to domestic animals ; but in *Kees* this vice seemed a talent, the ingenuity of which I could not help admiring. My people, who were not always inclined to take his thievery in good part, frequently corrected him ; but it was all in vain ; they never could reform him in this particular. He knew perfectly well how to untie the cords which fastened the baskets, in order to help himself to provision, especially milk, which he was very fond of, and several times, in consequence of this, I have been obliged to go without. I sometimes beat him myself for his mischievous tricks, after which he usually made his escape, and would not return to the tent till it began to grow dark.

I have hung on these details with pleasure. If they do not tend to the instruction of mankind, they are interesting to a soul like mine, delighted with the most simple objects ; recollecting with pleasure my innocent pastimes, my days of peace, and only moments of my life in which I was sensible of the whole value of my existence.

IV

A HOTTENTOT IDYLL

IN the midst of the deserts surrounded by the rocks and forests of Africa, my independence was complete ; there I was sure to see no trace of human art but what myself should form ; it was there I truly found that man was lord of the creation. This humour marked the early part of my life, and is the pure and natural sentiment of liberty, which repulses with disdain every infringement on its right ; many reasons attached me to these principles, and I so well adhered to them that I never broke on my original plan but once during my travels.

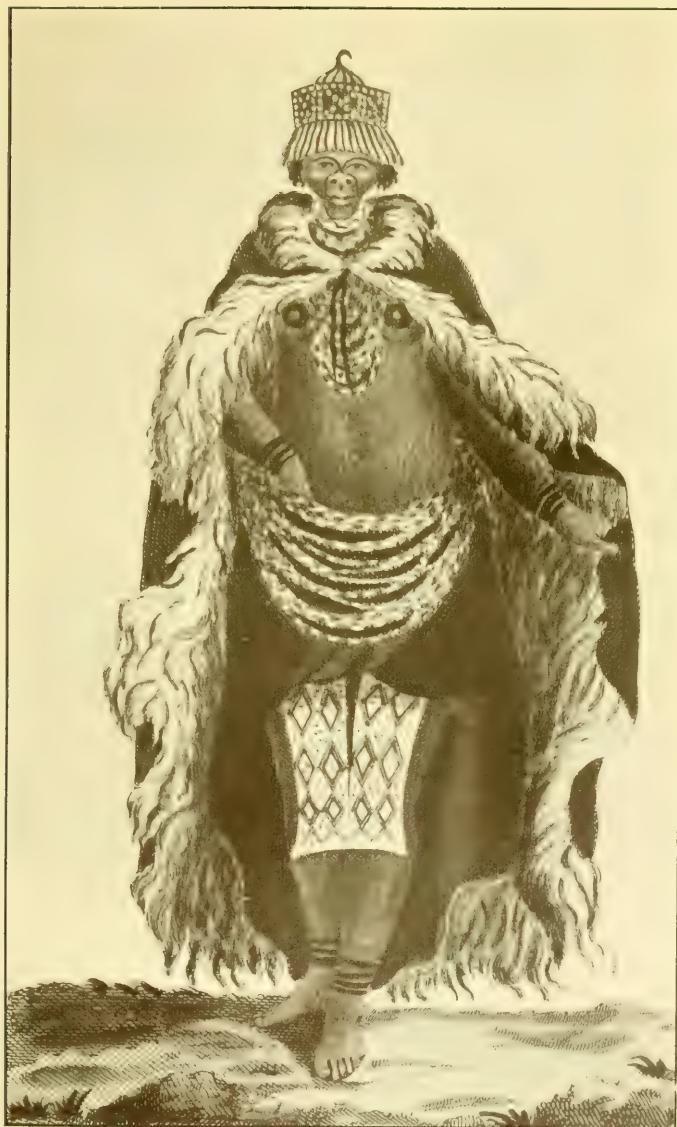
To give some idea of our order and usual occupations when we put up at night, I slept in my tent or wagon ; at break of day, awakened by the crowing of my cock, I prepared coffee for breakfast, while my Hottentots on their part were employed in cleaning and preparing the oxen ; at sunrise I took my gun, and attended by my monkey, searched about until ten o'clock ; on our return I ever found the tent clean swept ; this was particularly the business of an old African called Swanepoel, who was not able to follow us on foot, therefore stayed behind to keep all in order.

I had not much furniture in my tent ; the utensils consisted of two chairs, a table, on which I dissected my animals, and some instruments for preparing them. I usually employed myself that way from ten till twelve o'clock, or in arranging the different insects I had procured in the drawers. My method of dining

was not very sumptuous ; I placed on my knee a bit of plank covered with a napkin, and was then served with a single plate of roast or boiled meat ; this frugal meal ended, I returned to my work, if I had not finished it before, after which I went a-hunting till sunset. On my return I passed some hours in setting down in the journal my observations, acquisitions, and all the transactions of the day ; during this time my men were employed in gathering the cattle round the tent ; my goats, after being milked, laying down to sleep with the dogs.

Our business done, and a great fire made, we sat down in a circle, and while I was taking tea the men were smoking their pipes, and telling stories so very ridiculous, that they occasioned me much mirth. I took great pleasure in seeing them cheerful, and my freedom and good humour banished in those meetings timidity and fear ; the dispute then was whose story should most amuse, and the profound silence which reigned among us might have flattered the most expert reciter.

Sometimes indeed, more pleased with my own reflections, I felt myself drawn by an involuntary impulse to contemplate the beauties of a calm and serene evening, after the heat and fatigue of the day. In what lively colours does memory frequently paint those charming peaceful habitations ! Methinks I am seated in my camp, surrounded by my people, a plant —a flower—a piece of rock, scattered here and there—nothing escapes my recollection, and the charming idea interests, amuses, and delights me.



RAGEU, A FEMALE HOTENTOT

From François Le Vaillant's "Voyage dans l'Intérieur de L'Afrique"
(Paris, 1790)

Sometimes our discourse led us beyond the usual hour, and I must own these uneducated people had often strokes of wit and humour in their conversation that surprised me : I questioned them particularly on Colben, and the different accounts authors give of their religion, laws, and customs ; some of these interrogatories would occasion them to laugh in my face, at other times they were downright angry, supposing these inquiries were meant either to tease, or undervalue their faculties and knowledge. I sometimes described that set of beings who in great cities procure by their finesse an elegant subsistence, and are entitled Chevaliers d'Industre ; I represented in a thousand forms the tricks of these cameleons, and painted them in the most flattering colours ; with what pleasure did I see my Hottentots unanimously prefer the simplicity of their country to these seducing pictures ; looking on such resources as vile and illiberal in men who boast a superiority over those who are only instructed by nature.

Worthy injured people ! whom so many have taken pleasure to represent as unnatural monsters, devouring each other, an infant might lead ye ! Peaceful Hottentots ! behold with disdain those harsh invaders who first reduced to slavery, then basely traduced and placed ye on a level with the brutes.

V

THE FAIR NARINA

IN the midst of these reciprocal offerings of friendship, I remarked a young girl of about sixteen, who showed

less eagerness to partake of the ornaments I bestowed on her companions than to consider my person ; she examined me with such marked attention that I drew near, to satisfy her curiosity. Her figure was charming, her teeth beautifully white, her height and shape elegant and easy, and might have served as a model for the pencil of Albane ; in short, she was the youngest sister of the graces under the figure of a female Hottentot.

The force of beauty is universal, 'tis a sovereign whose power is unlimited. I felt by the prodigality of my presents that I paid some deference to its power. The young savage and myself were soon acquainted. I gave her a girdle, bracelets, and a necklace of small white beads, which appeared to delight her ; I then took a red handkerchief from my neck, with which she bound her head ; in this dress she was charming !

I took pleasure in decorating her, which finished, she asked me for ornaments for her sister, who had remained at home ; she pointed out to me her mother, told me she had no father. Nothing could equal the pleasure I took in seeing her, except it was in hearing her speak, for I was so charmed with her answers that I fatigued her with interrogations. I asked her to stay with me, making her all sorts of promises ; but when I spoke of carrying her to my country, where women, I told her, were all queens, commanding Hoards of slaves, she rejected my proposal, and even gave marks of impatience and ill-humour. A monarch could not have prevailed on her to quit her Hoord and family ; the bare idea inspired her with melancholy, to banish

which, I changed the subject, and desired her to bring her sister, which she promised to do. Then fixing her eyes on a chair, showed me a knife that laid there : I presented her with it ; this she carried to her mother.

She was fully employed with her new decorations ; examining her arms, feet, necklace and girdle, twenty times feeling her head, and adjusting her handkerchief, with which she appeared much pleased. I set my glass before her, she viewed herself very attentively, and even with complacency, showing by her gestures how much she was satisfied, not particularly with her person, but her ornaments.

On her departure from the Hoord in the morning to visit me, her cheeks had been rubbed with grease and soot ; I made her wash it off, but could never persuade her that these decorations diminished rather than increased her beauty, and whatever skill I used in my persuasions, she still remained as obstinately attached to her filthy grease, as in our climates the ladies are to rouge and pastes, which, though not less disgusting, are more pernicious.

My charming pupil desired me to give her my looking-glass, I consented ; she made good use of the empire her gentleness had acquired, to ask for all that gave her pleasure, notwithstanding I was obliged to deny her several things that were particularly useful to me, and might have been dangerous to her. My knee buckles had tempted her—the most sparkling gems were not so brilliant as her expressive eyes. I should have been delighted to have given them. How much did I wish at that moment for the most miserable

fastenings to supply this useless luxury ! unhappily they were the only pair I possessed. I made her comprehend that the buckles were absolutely necessary to me, from which moment she never named them.

I found her name difficult to pronounce, disagreeable to the ear, and inapplicable to my ideas, I therefore re-named her Narina, which in the Hottentot language signifies a flower, desiring her to retain this name for my sake. She promised to keep it as long as she lived, in remembrance of me, and in testimony of her love ; a sentiment that was no longer a stranger to her heart ; this was truly painted in her gentle unadorned language, which powerfully showed how strong the first impressions of nature are, and that even in the deserts of Africa there is no happiness without an alloy.

I ordered a sheep to be killed, and a good quantity of the Hippopotamus to be dressed, to regale our visitors, who gave into the excess of gaiety ; every one danced, my Hottentots, not to be outdone in gallantry, entertained them with music, sounding the Goura, the Joum-Joum, and the Rabouquin, nor was the Jewsharp forgotten ; this new instrument delighted our visitors. Narina, who thought (like all other pretty women) that she was capable of everything, tried to play ; to carry the likeness still farther, was soon tired of her lesson, and threw the instrument from her, calling it detestable.

The day passed in mirth and feasting ; my men shared their brandy (besides what I had given myself) among our visitors. I saw with pleasure that Narina

could not drink ; her sobriety delighted me. I detest liquors myself, and am amazed how women (particularly) can accustom themselves to the most disgusting of all poisons.

I reminded my people early of gathering wood for fires, which was soon performed ; the Gonaquais were of the party, and amply provided for their own use. I permitted them to remain all night, assigning them a spot at some distance from the camp. Night approaching our fires were kindled, and I regaled my people with tea and coffee. Narina liked tea, but the colour of coffee disgusted her ; I covered her eyes therefore with my hand, and got her to drink half a dish ; she thought it good, but still preferred tea, drinking a great quantity which amazed me, for notwithstanding her assertion that she liked it, she seemed to drink the tea in haste, in order to reach the sugar at the bottom.

After this frugal meal they returned to dancing till midnight, when fatigue obliged them to retire to rest.

I had for some time slept in my wagon to avoid the night-dews ; I therefore accommodated the Gonaqui chief with my tent. The reader no doubt supposes that Narina was not among those who were excluded my camp. She had no idea of quitting her friend, till I pointed out her mother and companions who were about to depart, when I received the adieu of the gentle Narina.

I sent two of my people armed to pass the night with the Gonaquais, and defend them, should any carnivorous beasts approach ; when they were departed I ordered the rest of my people to rest.

I could not sleep myself; all that had passed since the arrival of the Gonaquais was painted on my imagination in new and pleasing colours; the manners of these people were so pure, simple, and interesting, and so different from the account given by some romantic travellers. My conversation with Haabas and Narina particularly pleased me, and made me think the time misspent in their absence, and the hours too rapid in their company.

In the morning I visited the camp of the Gonaquais; it was just daybreak; they all slept profoundly, rolled up in their kroses (these are cloaks, made of the skins of different animals, and serve for a covering both day and night). Narina was with her mother, on a mat I had given them; the seven other women were huddled together, and formed a laughable group; neither heads or feet were to be seen, but entirely concealed under their coverings. I bid them good Morrow by firing my piece; on the instant their heads popped up, and exhibited the most comical picture imaginable; notwithstanding this noise some did not awake, which is not to be wondered at, as the sleep of the Hottentots is almost lethargic. I gave them time to recover their surprise, wishing to shoot some game before the heat of the day.

After carrying home my birds, I returned to the settlement of my visitors; the men only were there, the women, I was informed, were gone to bathe. Curious to see this ceremony I went to the river; their voices and laughter soon led me to the spot; I glided between the trees, and arrived on the banks without being seen.

After having for some time observed the swimmers, I fired my gun, and presented myself before them ; they instantly plunged into the water, showing only the tip of their noses. I seated myself on their habiliments, which were put together in a heap, tantalising them by holding these up, and inviting them to come and dress themselves. The mother of Narina laughed at the distress of her companions very heartily ; she had quitted the water before my arrival, and was seated under a tree, waiting for the rest.

For a long time they entreated me to go, but I was deaf to their solicitation. At length they thought of a scheme, which was executed with a skill that astonished me. They knew of my partiality for Narina ; her mother therefore threw her kros and apron to her, and she dressed herself in the water ; then coming to me, with an air of supplicating tenderness, entreated me to retire, and give her companions time to dress. I pretended unwillingness, but, taking my hand, she succeeded, by half forcing me out of sight, at the same time calling to her friends to make haste and dress.

We then continued our way to the tent, Narina playing with me by the way, with as much freedom as if I had been her brother, or one of her companions ; sometimes running and leaping over bushes, brooks, and pits, that intercepted her passage. Being young and inured to fatigue, I might have set our European Hercules at defiance ; but whether the remains of gallantry made me exert but half my strength in opposition to Narina, or that she had greater skill and agility, I cannot tell, but I was generally obliged to yield her

the palm of victory. Sometimes, getting a little forward, she would challenge me to race with her, then darting along with amazing swiftness, she would bound over the paths, and gaining the different turnings of the wood, meet and surprise me in the passage.

The different birds that were flying about in the forest obliged me often to use my gun ; it was the only method I had to restrain the wildness of my young savage ; nothing could equal the pleasure she took in seeing me fire.

In our way I shot twenty birds, and as I had no dog with me, Narina picked up the game. I had lost sight of my camp ; the mirth and playfulness of my young companion having led me further than I intended : she concluded, however, with a retaliation for the trick I had served herself and companions on the banks of the Groot-vis.

In our walk we had again met with that river ; a heron which I shot fell in the water, and was carried by the current into the middle of the stream ; I should have been particularly sorry to have lost it, having before taken great pains to procure one, which was spoiled by the negligence of my people.

I was for immediately plunging into the river, but was very much incommoded by the reeds and grafts which grew on the banks ; Narina, who saw my embarrassment, and how awkwardly I attempted to gain my bird, rushed into the river, and soon recovered the wished-for prize. I stood on the bank, earnestly inviting her to shore, but with a playful archness she turned a deaf ear to all my entreaties, holding up the

bird and beckoning me to fetch it. To provoke me the more, she swam over to the opposite side, from whence she made game of my cowardice. I have before observed I could not swim.

When I found I could not obtain the bird, I seated myself on the bank of the river, and waited patiently for her return ; on perceiving this, she swam back, diving by the way as she crossed. I presented my piece in jest, which did not in the least alarm her ; she only the more obstinately rebuffed me the heron. We now took the direct road to the camp.

The female Gonaquais, whom we had left on the borders of the river, soon joined us ; a bashful shame was marked on their features, and gave me cause to blush for having sported with their delicacy.

GEORGE CARTER

THE WRECK OF THE *GROSVENOR*

[The famous wreck of the British East Indiaman *Grosvenor* took place on the 4th of August 1782, at a point placed by Captain Riou between latitude 27° and 28°. *A Narrative of the loss of the 'Grosvenor'* (published by Murray in 1791) was compiled by George Carter, 'historical portrait painter,' from the examination of one of the survivors, John Hynes, whom he met on a ship bound for India. It is a story as terrible in its way as the shipwreck stories of the Portuguese two centuries before, to which indeed it bears a close resemblance. Of the one hundred and thirty-six people who landed from the wreck, only six sailors reached the colony, nearly all the rest perishing either at the hand of savages or from hunger and thirst. The relief expedition humanely organised by the Cape Government rescued three more sailors, as well as seven lascars and two Indian servants.]

IN the morning the steward and child were taken ill, and being unable to proceed, they requested the rest of the party to continue where they were that day. This was readily consented to. The next day they all found themselves disordered, through the extreme coldness of the rock on which they slept, against which, the little clothing they now had was not sufficient to defend them. This, as may naturally be supposed, must greatly affect men, broken down with fatigue and anxiety as they were.

The steward and child still continuing ill, our people agreed to stay another day, and if, at the expiration of that time they should not be better, they would be under the disagreeable necessity of leaving them behind.

Their humanity, however, was not put to this severe test; for in the course of the night the poor child resigned his breath, and ceased any longer to share with his companions in their fatigues and sorrows.

Having prepared early in the morning whatever they could muster for breakfast, they intended to have called him to partake of it as soon as all was ready, being willing to allow his tender frame as much indulgence as possible. They had left him, as they supposed, asleep near the fire, around which they had all rested during the night. But what was their surprise when they found that his soul had taken its flight into another world.

‘ Alas, sweet youth, thy bark, too early launched by misfortune on the tempestuous sea of life, though it withstood the boisterous blast much longer than could have been expected at thy early years, was at last obliged to yield to the impetuous waves, and was overwhelmed by them before it could reach some sheltering haven ! ’

* * * * *

The witness to this affecting scene being no longer able to render him any assistance, they bestowed a last sigh on the departed innocent, and leaving him in the place where the cold hand of death had arrested him, moved on.

The steward, who still continued ill, did not find his illness or his sorrows alleviated by this fresh affliction ; on the contrary, the loss of a young person he so much valued, and who had so long been the object of his tenderest care, nearly overwhelmed him, and it was with the utmost difficulty his companions got him along.

They, however, did get on, and had walked about two hours, as Hynes thinks, when Robert Fitzgerald asked for a shell of water : Hynes complied with his request, and he drank it with great avidity.

He then asked for another shellful, which having received and drank with equal relish, he laid himself down and instantly expired.

His companions left this man likewise on the spot where he died, and departed without being much shocked at the event ; as every one of them was now worn out with hunger and fatigue, and rather considered such a deliverance as a consummation devoutly to be wished, than to be dreaded.

They however proceeded, and about four of the same day another of the party, William Fruel, complained of his being very weak. Having said this, he sat down upon the sand by the sea-side. Here his companions, compelled by necessity, left him, and went on, in order to seek for wood and water, telling him, that if they could find either, they would return, that he might partake of the benefit.

At some little distance they turned their eyes back, and saw that he was crawling after them. And having sought in vain for a comfortable resting-place, they

likewise were obliged to lay themselves down on the sand for the night, without having been able to find a drop of water.

Recollecting the situation of Fruel, one of the party went back to see if he could get him on. But notwithstanding the person went within view of the place where they had left him, he was not to be seen : and they all concluded, that as he had nothing to shelter or protect him, the wild beasts had carried him off.

As soon as daylight appeared, they proceeded on their journey ; and as they had had no water since the middle of the foregoing day, they suffered exceedingly from thirst. The glands of their throats and mouths were much swollen, and at length they were necessitated to drink their own water.

Whatever their distresses had been, they were not to be compared to the situation to which they were now reduced. Indeed they now experienced the extreme of human misery.

The next day, which was the second in which they had existed without food or water, they were so very thirsty that when any of them could not furnish himself with a draught of urine he would borrow a shellful of his companion who was more fortunate, till it was in his power to repay it. Here the ship's steward and another of the party, unable to survive their melancholy situation, expired.

Our people were still obliged to sleep upon the sands, the track they pursued being bounded on the one side by mountains of sand, and on the other by

the sea ; and they continued without food or water, except the half of a fish which they found in their way. But this scarcely afforded a mouthful to each. Indeed some would not touch a bit of it, lest, without water, it should only add to the misery they already endured.

Next morning two more of the party were reduced to a very languishing state, but they still walked on, dreading to be left behind. One of them, however, had not proceeded far before he laid himself down, unable to proceed a step farther. His companions shook hands with him, and recommending him to the protection of heaven, as it was not in their power to afford him any assistance, left him to expire.

They again went on, but without finding any alleviation to their woes, till about five o'clock in the afternoon, when they came to a deep gulley, which they entered in hopes of meeting with water. Here they found another of the *Grosvenor's* crew dead. He was lying upon his face in the sand, with his right hand cut off at the wrist. So singular a circumstance could not but excite the astonishment of our people ; and it was recollect that, while living, it was a common asseveration used by the deceased, ‘ May the Devil cut off my right hand if it be not true.’ Extraordinary as this inference may be thought by some, the fact is no less true than strange, and it very sensibly affected for the time his messmates.

John Warmington, the boatswain’s mate, who was one of those that lost their clothes in crossing the river, as before related, took this opportunity of supplying

himself by appropriating to his use a part of those which were found on the deceased.

Notwithstanding their distressed situation, they marched on till night, and then laid themselves down to sleep, without taking any sustenance but what their own urine afforded them.

The next day brought no abatement to the miseries of these famished wanderers. Necessity, however, impelled them to proceed, though nothing but despair presented itself. To such a state of weakness were they now reduced, that they had proceeded but a little way before another of the party dropped and was left to his fate.

They were now reduced to three, viz. Hynes, Evans, and Wormington ; and those were nearly on the point of sharing the fate of their companions. Their faculties drooped apace ; they could scarcely hear or see ; and at the same time a vertical sun darted its beams so intensely upon them that it was with the utmost difficulty they got on.

Next morning the three forlorn travellers went on ; but by this time their thirst was so extreme (the only liquid they had to quench it adding to their torment) that Wormington earnestly importuned Hynes and Evans to determine by lot who should die, in order that by drinking his blood the other two might be preserved.

Hynes was grown so weak that he was almost childish. Upon hearing Wormington's proposal his tears flowed in plenteous streams down his cheeks, but he would by no means consent to it. He said that if, as they went on, he should become so very feeble as to

drop, they then were at liberty to do what they pleased with him, if they thought it would tend to their own preservation ; but as long as he was able to walk he would not think of casting lots. Wormington hearing this would proceed no farther, upon which the other two shook hands with him and left him.

It is almost impossible for the mind of man to imagine a situation so truly deplorable and alarming as that to which these poor wretches were at this time reduced. The susceptible heart sometimes feels inexpressible concern at seeing the approaching exit of one friend ; what anguish then must the unhappy wanderers experience with such repeated ravages of death before their eyes, and these rendered more terrifying by the expectation of being themselves the next victim to his unrelenting dart ! Human nature shudders at the bare idea !

Hynes and Evans now made another effort to get on, but with their best exertions they made little progress. About ten o'clock they saw something before them, which had the appearance of large birds. Elated with the sight they entertained a hope of being able to get some of them, and thereby allay the torments they endured.

But what was their surprise to find, as they approached nearer, that they were men. Being nearly blind, and almost in a state of idiotism, they did not at first recollect who their new found companions were ; but after some time they discovered that they were four of the steward's party, from which they had been separated. One of them, a lad about eleven

years of age, whose name was Price, came a little way to meet them ; their first inquiry was, whether they had any fresh water, and being answered in the affirmative, they appeared to be inspired with new life.

The party they had thus joined now made inquiry in their turn what was become of the rest of Hynes' companions. To this he replied that they were all dead except Wormington, whom they had left behind them that morning. Upon which Berney, Leary, and Francisco de Lasso went in search of him.

Before Leary and De Lasso set out, they charged the two who remained behind, by no means to permit Hynes and Evans to have much water, as several had expired by drinking too freely and eagerly. But so impatient were they to quench that thirst which had so long tormented them, that they laid themselves down to drink at the spring, and might have exceeded the bounds of prudence had not Price and the other closed up the sand, and thereby prevented them. They then took them to an alcove, at a little distance, and having given them a small quantity of shell-fish, left them to their repose while the former went out to forage.

JACOB VAN REENEN

[Two expeditions were made in search of possible survivors of the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, one in 1783, and the other by a party of thirteen Cape Dutchmen in 1790 and 1791. A journal of the latter journey was published as a thin quarto in London in 1792, with an introduction, notes, and a map, by Captain Edward Riou. The book is remarkable as probably the first to be written by a Cape colonial. Van Reenen¹ was the journalist of the gallant little party, the leader being Jan Holtshausen, who died from a fall into a game trap. Another of the party, Lodewyk Prins, was killed, as our extract shows, by an elephant. For an account of the wreck, see Theal's *History of Cape Colony before 1795*, vol. iii.]

AN ELEPHANT HUNT

1790. *Wednesday, 1st December.*—We employed ourselves this day in cutting up and salting the meat of the sea-cows that we had shot the preceding evening. By the time we had accomplished this, a large male elephant came up to the wagons. We instantly pursued and attacked him; when, after having received several shot, and that he had twice fallen, he crept into a very thick thorny underwood. Thinking that we had fully done for him, Tjaart van der Waldt, Lodewyk Prins, and Ignatius Mulder

¹ It would be interesting to know if this Jacob van Reenen was the same as the 'Jacobus van Reenen,' one of four representatives of four hundred dissatisfied burghers, who went to Holland to present a memorial of grievances, dated 1779. See Mendelssohn's *Bibliography*.

advanced to the spot where he was hid ; when he rushed out, in a furious manner, from the thicket, and with his trunk catching hold of Lodewyk Prins, who was then on horseback, trod him to death ; and driving one of his tusks through his body, threw him into the air to the distance of thirty feet. The others, perceiving that there was no possibility of escaping on horseback, dismounted and crept into the thicket to hide themselves. The elephant having nothing now in view but the horse of van der Waldt, followed it for some time ; when he turned about, and came to the spot near to where the dead body lay, looking about for it. At this instant our whole party renewed the attack, in order to drive him from the spot ; when, after that he had received several shots, he again escaped into the thickest of the wood. We now thought that he was far enough off, and had already begun to dig a grave for our unfortunate companion ; at which we were busily employed, when the elephant rushed out again, and driving us all away remained by himself there on the spot. Tjaart van der Waldt got another shot at him, at the distance of an hundred paces. We every one of us then made another attack upon him ; and, having now received several more bullets, he began to stagger ; then falling, the Hottentots with a shot or two more, killed him as he lay on the ground.

The fury of this animal is indescribable. Those of our party who knew anything of elephant hunting, declared that it was the fleetest and most furious they had ever beheld.

The Hottentots told us that the elephant's custom is, whenever attacked, never to leave a dead body, until, by piecemeals, they have swallowed the whole carcase : and that they themselves had seen a Hottentot killed much in the same manner as our friend, of whose body they never could find the least remains. This, probably, would have been the fate of our companion, had we not made so severe an attack on the elephant.

We now set about finishing the grave, and, at half-past six o'clock in the afternoon interred the body of the unfortunate Lodewyk Prins.

SIR JOHN BARROW

[Barrow was a north countryman, with all the North Country good qualities and perhaps a little of the North Country brusqueness. He was born in 1764 in a little thatched cottage near Ulverston, and rose by sheer grit and ability to be Secretary of the Admiralty. His name is immortal in arctic exploration, and he is immortal too in our South African literature. He has been abused for lack of sympathy ; but he can hardly be attacked for lack of accuracy. Like Livingstone he never could take a friendly view of the Boer ; and no doubt, like Livingstone, he had his reasons. As secretary to Lord Macartney, he was a member of an alien and unpopular administration, identified with the Orange as against the Patriot party. His ability as a cartographer, and his intelligence as an observer and administrator, led to long journeys through the country, ‘ exceeding,’ as he tells us, ‘ one thousand miles on horseback, on foot, and very rarely in a covered wagon, and full half the distance as a pedestrian, and never except for a few nights sleeping under a roof.’ He was associated with Samuel Daniell, that admirable artist and aquatint engraver, who was also on Lord Macartney’s staff, and his second edition of the *Travels into the Interior of South Africa* is enriched by eight of his friend’s engravings. Barrow married a Dutch lady, Anna Maria Trüter, bought a house under Table Mountain, and had intended to settle ‘ as a country gentleman of South Africa ’ when his plans were upset by the treaty of Amiens. His view of the frontier Boers would probably have been shared by his friends the Trüters, and most of the other good Dutch families connected with the administration of the Cape. Sir John Barrow died in 1848, after living a long life of useful and honourable public service.]

A BOER INTERIOR

THE women of the African peasantry lead a life of the most listless inactivity. The mistress of the family, with her coffee-pot constantly boiling before her on a small table, seems fixed to her chair like a piece of furniture ; and it is the business of a little black boy or a Hottentot, wholly naked, to attend her with a small branch of a tree or a fan made of ostrich feathers to flap away the flies. The annexed sketch, drawn from nature by Mr. Daniell, is so true a picture of a Boer's apartment, that any further description would be superfluous. Few of the Africans, educated among slaves and Hottentots, have any idea of what, in a state of society, constitutes female delicacy. They make no scruple of having their legs and feet washed in warm water by a slave before strangers ; an operation indeed that is regularly performed every evening. If the motive of such a custom were that of cleanliness, the practice of it would deserve praise ; but to observe the tub with the same water passed round through all branches of the family, according to seniority, is apt to create ideas of a very different nature. Most of them go constantly without stockings and shoes, even when the thermometer is down to the freezing-point. They generally, however, make use of small stoves to place the feet on. The young girls sit with their hands before them as listless as their mothers. Most of them, in the distant districts, can neither read nor write, so that they have no mental resources whatsoever. Luckily, perhaps, for them, the paucity of ideas prevents time

from hanging heavy on their hands. The history of a day is that of their whole lives. They hear or speak of nothing but that such a one is going to the city, or to church, or to be married, or that the Bosjesmans have stolen the cattle of such a one, or the locusts eaten their corn. The young people have no meetings at fixed periods, as in most country-places, for mirth and recreation. No fairs, no dancing, no music, nor amusement of any sort. To the cold phlegmatic temper and inactive way of life may perhaps be owing the prolific tendency of all the African peasantry. Six or seven children in a family are considered as very few; from a dozen to twenty are not uncommon; and most of them marry very young, so that the population of the country is rapidly increasing. Several, however, of the children die in their infancy, from swellings in the throat, and from eruptive fevers. Few instances of longevity occur. Their mode of life is perhaps less favourable for a prolonged existence than the nature of the climate. The diseases of which they generally die in the country are bilious and putrid fevers and dropsies.

The men are in general much above the middle size, very tall and stout, but ill made, loosely put together, awkward, and inactive. Very few have those open ingenuous countenances that among the peasantry of many parts of Europe speak their simplicity and innocence. The descendants of French families are now so intermarried with those of the original settlers, that no distinction, except the names, remains. And it is a remarkable fact that not a word of the French language is spoken or understood by any of the

peasantry, though there be many still living whose parents were both of that nation. Neither is a French book of any kind to be seen in their houses. It would seem as if these persecuted refugees had studied to conceal from their children their unfortunate history and their country's disgraceful conduct.

The means of education, it is true, must be very difficult to be had among a people so widely scattered over a vast extent of country as the peasantry are in the colony of the Cape. Some have a person in the house whom they call the schoolmaster. This is generally a man who had served out his time in the ranks. His employment, in this new situation, is not only to instruct the children to read, to write, to sing psalms, and get by heart a few occasional prayers, but he must also make himself serviceable in other respects. At one place we passed, the poor schoolmaster was driving the plough, whilst a Hottentot had the more honourable post of holding and directing it. The children of those who either cannot obtain or afford to employ such a person, can neither read nor write; and the whole of their education consists in learning to shoot well, to crack and use with dexterity an enormous large whip, and to drive a wagon drawn by bullocks.

A book of any kind is rarely seen in any of the farmers' houses, except the Bible, and *William Sluiter's Gesangen*, or songs out of the Bible done into verse by the Sternhold and Hopkins of Holland. They affect to be very religious, and carry at least the practical part of devotion fully as far as the most zealous bigots.

They never sit down to table without a long grace before meat, pronounced with an audible voice by the youngest of the family ; and every morning before daylight one of William Sluiter's *Gesangen* is drawled out in full chorus by an assemblage of the whole family. In their attendance at church they are scrupulously exact, though the performance of this duty costs many of them a journey of several days. Those who live at a distance of a fortnight or three weeks from the nearest church generally go with their families once a year.

Rude and uncultivated as are their minds, there is one virtue in which they eminently excel—hospitability to strangers. A countryman, a foreigner, a relation, a friend, are all equally welcome to whatsoever the house will afford. A Dutch farmer never passes a house on the road without alighting, except indeed his next neighbour's, with whom it is ten to one he is at variance. It is not enough to inquire after the health of the family in passing ; even on the road, if two peasants should meet, they instantly dismount to shake hands, whether strangers or friends. When a traveller arrives at a habitation, he alights from his horse, enters the house, shakes hands with the men, kisses the women, and sits down without further ceremony. When the table is served he takes his place among the family without waiting for an invitation. This is never given, on the supposition that a traveller in a country so thinly inhabited must always have an appetite for something. Accordingly, ‘ What will you make use of ? ’ is generally the first question.

If there be a bed in the house it is given to the stranger ; if none, which is frequently the case among the graziers of the distant district of Graaf Reynet, he must take his chance for a form, or bench, or a heap of sheep-skins, among the rest of the family. In the morning, after a solid breakfast, he takes his *sopie*, or glass of brandy, orders his slave or Hottentot to saddle the horses, shakes hands with the men, and kisses the women ; *he* wishes them health, and *they* wish him a good journey. In this manner a traveller might pass through the whole country.

ROBERT PERCIVAL

Captain Robert Percival has been sadly abused by Dr. Theal, but his book has not been proved inaccurate. He was a soldier born in 1765, and when he embarked with Elphinstone in 1795 held the rank of Captain in the 18th Irish Infantry Regiment. Percival led the attack on the Muisenburg position, under General Craig, and was the first to enter Cape Town, where he remained until 1797. To live in a conquered country, as one of the conquering army, is not the way to obtain a sympathetic view of its inhabitants, as most military memoirs show, and Percival certainly was not sympathetic. His *Account of the Cape of Good Hope* (London, 1804) is nevertheless a valuable book, especially for its account of the military operations. Percival afterwards wrote a book on Ceylon, which was praised by Sydney Smith. He died in 1826.]

DOMESTIC LIFE AT THE CAPE

I HAVE already noticed the fondness of the men for smoking tobacco ; their whole soul seems indeed entirely given up to that habit. We all know how much it is the custom in Holland, but here it is carried to a still greater excess. The men rise early in the morning, and make their appearance in a loose robe and night-cap before their doors ; then walk or sit in the porch for an hour or two with a pipe in their mouths, and a slave by their side holding a glass and a small decanter of gin, from which the master every now and then takes his soupkie or glass. Let an Englishman

rise ever so early, he will see Mynheer sitting in his stoop or porch, or parading the front of his house in the manner I have described. There are many who get up two or three times in the night to enjoy a pipe, and so much are they accustomed to this luxury that they cannot on any account dispense with it. About eight they dress, first smoking their quantum; after which they sit down to breakfast, which generally consists of a quantity of gross food besides coffee, tea, and fruit of all kinds. They then smoke another pipe, and go about their mercantile concerns till about one o'clock, when dinner commences, which also consists of a quantity of gross and oily dressed meat, with fruit, etc., as a desert. A more particular description of their tables I shall give presently. When they have regaled themselves another hour with their darling pipe, they lie down to their nap, which continues till evening; they then rise, and perhaps take a walk or pay formal visits, but are always sure to smoke wherever they go. Coffee and gin succeed, accompanied with their pipe, till about nine, when supper is introduced, and when they are finished, after another hour's fumigating, they retire to bed, gorged with heavy food, and perhaps destined to spend the remainder of the night with all the horrors arising from indigestion. A continual round of this mode of passing their time sums up the existence of the Dutch colonists of Cape Town, exhibiting a most lamentable picture of laziness and indolent stupidity. As their education is very limited, refined and polished manners, or any extent of knowledge, are not to be expected amongst

them. The public schools at the Cape are few; and education never goes beyond a little writing and accounts, merely to qualify them for trade, and to enable them to hold places in the offices of the East India Company.

Every man at the Cape is a merchant in some way or other, the whole study of the inhabitants being to make money, and they contrive to do so in numberless ways. Every Dutch gentleman, no matter whether he be a Count, Baron, Colonel, Captain, Mynheer, or what rank you please, looks to trade as the main chance; though there are some of those titled merchants and trading officers who from pride endeavour in some measure to conceal their own immediate connection with mercantile concerns, and carry on business by means of their slaves, and the inferior order of people.

The Dutch are remarkably neat in their houses. The floors, staircases, and furniture, are kept exceedingly clean and highly polished; the floors of their halls, and most of their ground floors, are of broad square red tiles, highly polished, glazed, or painted; the walls and ceilings stuccoed or painted, and the wainscoting adorned with looking-glasses and branches. Their sitting-rooms are very neat and clean: the furniture indeed is usually clumsy in the extreme, and looks very awkward though kept in excellent order. Several houses, however, are not inelegantly furnished. I must do the ladies at the Cape the justice to say they are most excellent housewives and managers. Everything within doors is left to them, the men never interfering or taking any trouble but walking to and fro in

their halls, or before their doors with a pipe in their mouths.

The beds are very good : the sheets of calico, and the mattresses stuffed with feathers so fine and downy, that one sinks quite in a hollow immediately on getting into them. This was so different from what I had been used to in India, where a cane couch and a mat is all one requires, that on my first stepping into a bed at the Cape I could not help calling out, imagining I was falling through to the ground ; and my exclamations brought in some of the family from the next room, who were highly amused with my alarm.

LADY ANNE BARNARD

[Lady Anne Barnard's *Letters* are so well known that, although their quality might seem to demand large quotation, I have so far denied myself as to give only one short specimen. The book in which they are printed, along with an interesting memoir of the lady by Mr. W. H. Wilkins, was published in 1901, and is, of course, easily to be obtained. Lady Anne was a great society wit and beauty, of the noble Scotch family of Lindsay (the Earls of Balcarres). She was on familiar terms with most of the great men of her day. Hume, Mackenzie and Monboddo, Pitt, Burke, Sheridan, Windham, Dr. Johnson and Sir Walter Scott were acquaintances or intimate friends. Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville), to whom she wrote from the Cape, was one of Pitt's most powerful colleagues, who deserves from his country to be better remembered than in the lines—

‘When Pitt got as drunk as Dundas
And Dundas got as drunk as a pig.’

It was the influence of Dundas which secured for Lady Anne Barnard's husband the post of secretary to Lord Macartney, when he was made Governor of the Cape in 1797, and Lady Anne repaid her friend for this very moderate favour by writing a series of altogether delightful letters, sprightly, witty, full of keen if feminine observation.]

A STORY OF SARAH AND HAGAR

I LIKE the Landdrost of Stellenbosch and his brother-in-law very well too, because they have been kind to us; but the Landdrost is dull—he does not, to quote some lines on Wolfe, ‘put so much of his heart into

his acts that all must follow that which all approve.' I believe we have been of some use to him in showing him more of his district than he ever saw before. Civility to us has carried him farther than curiosity ever did before, but as he has been Landdrost only two years he has probably had, as yet, but little time to go about. It is a situation of considerable business, one day with another bringing him on an average not fewer than fifty people or fifty differences of some sort to settle. But when the Landdrost is a sensible, honest man, how much better this is than to have a breed of lawyers in the country ! Though the parties should come at the most inconvenient times, as they often have to come far, he does not keep any one a moment waiting, but leaves his dinner scarce touched to discuss the affair. An instance of this I shall particularise because it will make you smile.

The Landdrost was called away the beginning of dinner one day to talk to an old man and old woman who had come together ; they detained him long. At last, when he returned, he told us it was an affair of jealousy, founded on what often takes place in this country, the partiality of the master to one of his black slaves ; that all was amicably settled, as he had consented to sell the object of contention. He had not had two mouthfuls when another message came from the husband, to the effect that there being a sale in Hottentot Holland next day he begged leave to sell her then. The Landdrost gave permission thinking his hurry a proof that the man knew his own weakness, and was resolved to put future error out of his power.



MALAY WOMAN

From Angas's "Kaffirs" (London, 1849)

Two more mouthfuls were not swallowed when the wife came back, and off the Landdrost was again. ‘Come,’ said I, ‘I’ll lay a rupee on old Sarah’s head that she means to be generous, and since her husband is ready to sell the bondwoman to satisfy her, that she is now willing to let her and Ishmael remain.’ The gentlemen shook their heads, but no one took my bet, as the appearance was in my favour. At last the Landdrost returned, and we eagerly inquired the old lady’s business. ‘Only to persuade me to give her leave to whip Hagar,’ said he, ‘before she is sold.’ ‘Oh, damn her,’ cried Mr. Barnard. ‘Amen,’ said I, ‘but I hope you did not consent?’ ‘No, no,’ said he, ‘I thought the concession of selling her quite enough, and refused her revengeful request.’

I since hear that, instead of having sold her, she has brought her to Cape Town and put her into the Fiscal’s prison, in hopes of obtaining, from his ignorance of the matter, the general permission to whip her ill-behaved slave. But the Fiscal does not condemn so slightly; he inquired into the merits of the case, and poor Hagar has once more escaped her licking but is to be sold incontinently.

ROBERT SEMPLE

[The *Walks and Sketches at the Cape of Good Hope*, from which the following extract is given, was first printed in London in 1803, a second edition appearing in 1805. It is an interesting little account of the Cape Town of the period of the first British occupation.]

THE SLAVE MARKET

IN one of our morning walks about the town, observing a considerable crowd before the door of a house, my friend and I went up and inquired what was going forward, and were informed that it was a public sale of all the effects of a colonist deceased. Scarcely had we joined the crowd, when the auctioneer mounted upon a chair and struck for some time upon a round plate of brass, as a signal that the auction was going to begin. Immediately all was attention. Numbers of articles were put up and disposed of till, growing tired of the scene, we were going away; a short pause, however, and then a murmur in the assembly, announced that something else than trifles was going to be produced. We accordingly waited a moment, and soon saw a black man coming forward through the crowd. ‘Ah!’ said Charles, ‘they are going to dispose of the family slaves; let us stop a little longer.’

The first that was put up was a stout native of the

Mozambique coast. His look was sad and melancholy, his hands hanging down clasped together as if they were bound, and his eyes fixed upon the earth. When he heard that his lot was determined, and that he was sold for six hundred rix-dollars, he raised his eyes up heavily to look for his new master, and followed him out of the crowd without speaking a word ; but we thought that his cheek was wet with tears, and perhaps we were right ; for the purchaser told us, with some expressions of compassion, that he had been a great favourite of his deceased friend. Many more were put up, the household of the deceased having been very numerous, but on the countenances of all of them sorrow and the humiliation of slavery were the predominating features. At length an object was presented which almost made us weep ; a mother was brought forward with a little girl of three years old clinging to her, which they wished to tear from her, whilst she, dreading the threats of her owners, feebly told her child to leave her at the same time that she folded her arms round it. ‘Put them up together, put them up together,’ said every voice ; it was consented to, and the woman kissing her child and leading it by the hand, advanced to the spot appointed. Whilst they were bidding for her, she looked anxiously round in every countenance, as if imploring compassion. Her price was bade up to seven hundred dollars, which the auctioneer repeated a long time without anybody seeming willing to say more. ‘The man who has bought her and the child,’ said one who stood next to us, ‘has the reputation of being very cruel to his slaves.’

‘Has he?’ said Charles, whilst the blood rushed into his face, ‘but he has not got them yet.’ ‘Seven hundred and ten,’ cried he with a voice trembling with eagerness. Everybody turned their eyes upon us, and the mother and the little child looked full in Charles’s face. ‘Seven hundred and twenty,’ said the man, starting up; ‘fifty,’ said the other; ‘eight hundred,’ bade Charles; the man bit his lips, a long pause ensued; ‘eight hundred and one,’ said a mild-looking old man whose humanity I was well acquainted with. Charles drew back, and the poor slave was allotted to a mild master.

HENRY LICHTENSTEIN

[When the Batavian Government took over the Cape from the British, and General Janssens was appointed Governor, Dr. Martin Heinrich Carl Lichtenstein went with him as tutor to his son, and accompanied the excellent Janssens on his extensive tours through South Africa. The Batavian Government rested, of course, on the Patriot Party in Holland ; but ultimately upon revolutionary France, and Lichtenstein is therefore naturally inclined to take in all things the opposite view to Barrow. Still he is forced to agree with him in his opinion of the frontier settlers, the turbulent Boers of Graaff Reinet, whose conception of freedom was anarchy. Dr. Lichtenstein wrote a charming book, published first in Berlin in 1811-12 and three years afterwards in London, *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806.* It is a sprightly and 'sympathetic' account of the country, written in the vein of sentiment then fashionable.]

THE INHABITANTS OF ROODEZAND AND THEIR RELIGION

THE inhabitants of Roodezand, owing to their frequent intercourse with the Cape Town, have more of civilisation than the distant colonists, are more active and industrious, and more attentive to their own interests. There is more taste about their houses, more luxury at their tables, the wives and daughters are better clothed, and they make some pretensions, not wholly without reason, to polish and education. Unfortu-

nately, through the mistaken zeal of a swarm of missionaries, who within a few years have established themselves here, a degree of bigotry has been introduced, which has very much changed the frankness of character and good-will towards each other, which was once so prevalent here, and made them devotees and scandal-mongers. Music and dancing are entirely banished ; and they can scarcely forgive their regular clergyman that he is more tolerant and would encourage cheerfulness among the young people. The youths do indeed still occupy themselves with agriculture, hunting, and travelling, but the women sit at home in pious inactivity ; or if they do move, it is with an affected solemnity, stiffness, and starchedness of manner, that even the youngest seem as if they had taken their grandmothers as the model for their air and carriage. Every lively feeling of youth is suppressed in prayers and psalm-singing, and they often go to the arms of the husbands whom their fathers have chosen for them with pale countenances and half-ruined health.

The first disposition to this vexatious bigotry, for so it is to a true Christian, was created by the predecessor of the present clergyman, an ignorant, illiterate man, without any of the true dignity of the clerical character, who, with a canting, affected humility, preached the doctrine of every one devoting himself entirely to the salvation of his own soul ; a doctrine not only utterly destructive of all social affection, but even of all attention to the necessary occupations of life. Such a doctrine, the offspring of sloth and ignorance, could only find *complete*



INTERVIEW OF GOVERNOR JANSSSENS WITH THE KAFFIR CHIEF GAIKA AT THE KAT RIVER IN
KAFFIRLAND IN MAY 1803

From Albrecht's "Album" Amsterdam, 1810)

admission into the minds of silly, ignorant people ; but unfortunately it gained a *partial* admission with many otherwise sensible men, while it was highly commended by the elderly women, and soon became that in which the young women were to be educated. This influence over the minds of the female part of his flock was employed by the pious preacher for the base purpose of seducing a young woman, who soon, by giving birth to a child, brought both him and herself to public shame. Notwithstanding this event, there were but too many who still wanted their favourite to remain among them ; but he went, if I am not mistaken, with the English to Ceylon. There are still, however, many persons who very much lament the loss of him, and wish ardently for his return : in fact, the doctrine he taught was a very convenient one ; it was, that if a man is only with a true, humble, broken, and contrite heart convinced of his own sinfulness, it is no matter how great may have been the sins he has committed, he is certain of being saved.

WILLIAM JOHN BURCHELL

[Burchell, one of the greatest of our English naturalists, was the son of a nurseryman in Fulham, and was born in 1782. In 1805 he went to St. Helena in the service of the East India Company as 'schoolmaster and acting botanist.' At St. Helena he met Janssens and Lichtenstein, who visited the island on their way home after the Cape had been captured by Sir David Baird, and gave the naturalist some useful letters of introduction to Dutch and German friends. Burchell reached Table Bay on 13th November 1810, and after learning the Taal in Cape Town set off on his travels in June 1811 in a well-equipped ox-wagon with a party of Hottentots. He crossed the Karroo, reached the Orange River, traversed the Bushman country, visited Adam Kop's station at Klaarwater, penetrated Bechuanaland to the famous 'Lattakoo' where he was in August 1812. His published travels go no further, but he was in the country for three years longer.

His collection of specimens was enormous, and he made a long series of beautiful drawings, many of which were published in his book, the two quarto volumes of 1822, which are now much prized by collectors. A third volume was projected but to our great loss was never published. In 1825 Burchell set out on his great South American journey, in the course of which he spent two months in a solitary hut in the depths of the Brazilian forest. He returned to England in 1829 with another great collection of specimens. He died at Churchfield House, Fulham, on 23rd March 1863. For further information on his life and work see the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Burchell wrote with a fine accuracy which is in itself a charm, and his descriptions of African scenes, natives, places, animals, and plants have a felicity and truth which are surpassed by no

other traveller. He was also an artist of no mean power. We think of him living simply and contentedly in the wilderness, playing his flute to his Hottentots, observing everything with a microscopic yet human eye, and going forward into unknown and savage country both without fear and without affectation of courage, absorbed in his whole-hearted search for knowledge.]

I

THE BOERS AND THE MEESTER

As soon as the family were up I delivered to the mistress of the house a letter, which her daughter at Piet Hugo's had requested me to take charge of, and which did me all the service of a letter of introduction. The old lady and her husband received me with great cordiality and good nature. A cup of coffee and a slice of bread and butter were immediately handed to me by one of the daughters, of whom three were then living at home. The father seemed a plain, honest farmer : the appearance of his dwelling indicated neither affluence nor comfort, yet the family looked contented and happy.

The situation of the house was bleak and exposed, and exhibited but little display of art or cultivation around it. At the back extended a wild flat, bounded by high rocky mountains. One large room, having a mud floor and a single glazed window, showing, by its broken panes, proofs of the scarcity of glass, constituted the principal part of the house. At one end were the bedrooms, and a door through the back wall opened into the kitchen. Hanging from the rafters of the thatched roof were seen a heterogeneous assemblage of domestic utensils and stores. The other end was filled by a very wide and deep fireplace,

exactly resembling that of an English farm-house, and a large iron cauldron of boiling soap was standing over the fire. A small window near the fireplace was, at this season, kept constantly closed with a wooden shutter in order to keep out the cold wind, as it had neither sash nor glass. Against the wall, under the glazed window, stood a small table, partly occupied by a little old-fashioned coffee-urn, an article in continual employ. On each side of this table two homely chairs were stationed, with their backs close to the wall : in these sat the master and mistress. A few chairs and benches, with the large family dining-table, were ranged in order round the room. On a shelf lay a variety of articles, with a large Bible and a few other books.

A black slave-woman and a Hottentot girl assisted in the domestic duties, while the more laborious work of the farm was performed by a man-slave and a few Hottentots. The daughters, three good-tempered young women, were under the tuition of an itinerant tutor, or *Meester*, as he was called, who had been for several months an inmate of the family. Although a Hollander by birth, he had passed the last twenty-nine years of his life in the colony ; but, in the younger part of it, had served in the Dutch and English navies. He was a very communicative, amusing, and, to a certain degree, intelligent person ; he could make himself understood both in English and in French ; and, in point of learning and acquirements, appeared fully equal to the task of completing the education of a boer's family.

A number of schoolmasters of this description, and who are mostly Europeans, are dispersed everywhere through the country. In many instances their qualifications would not enable them to get their living by the same occupation in their native country ; but considering the low salary they receive for their services, it cannot reasonably be expected that men of higher qualifications could be found to lead such a life. In the course of their profession it may happen that they peregrinate in every district of the colony, as their usual stay at each house is from six to twelve months ; and, in this short time, must they engage to complete the education of their pupils in reading, writing, and arithmetic. They are not always paid in money, the scarcity of which, in the more remote districts, compels them to accept their remuneration in cattle ; and thus, by degrees, some become possessed of large flocks and herds, with which, in the end, they often commence the business of farmer.

The *Meester* seemed desirous of recommending himself to my good opinion by a display of all his learning at once. He entered into disputations on every topic with which he fancied himself to be acquainted ; and, not to hurt his vanity, or lower him in the eyes of his scholars and employers, I sometimes confessed myself vanquished by his arguments, because, indeed, they were incomprehensible, and was rewarded for my submission by the complacency and good humour which he showed in return. The three sisters and the good old lady listened with attention to all that was said, and whenever they gave an opinion it was in favour

of the *Heer*. At last, having exhausted the learned sciences, he began to prove his knowledge of the politer accomplishments by introducing the subject of dancing. This art he offered to teach the young ladies ; whereupon, immediately starting up, he proceeded, in a laughable attitude, to show them the five positions ; and, happening to be correct in three of them, looked round with a happy satisfaction to receive my approbation.

II

SCENERY AT THE REED RIVER

TEMPTED again by the clearness and serenity of the weather, I equipped myself for a ramble alone, that I might the more freely enjoy my observations. I pursued the course of the river downwards till it conducted me into a narrow winding defile between moderately high rocky mountains, rising abruptly on either hand. Projecting from their sides stood enormous masses of rock of singular appearance, formed of large cubic blocks of sandstone, piled regularly on each other, and richly varied with all the tints of bistre, terra-di-sienna, and the different ochres. The intervening acclivity was composed of loose fragments which had fallen from the upper part of the rocks. A broad horizontal band, or stratum, of grey rock formed an appropriate basement to such a superstructure. Close at the foot of this the river silently crept along, forcing its way between the rushes, which seemed as if endeavouring to smother its stream, or compel it to seek another course. The opposite side of the defile, warmed by a

glowing sunshine, and winding round out of sight, gradually receded in aerial perspective. The deserted silence of the spot was broken only by the noise of wild geese, or the echo of my gun. I climbed the rocks, but found everything withered or quite parched up, and was able to collect nothing as a memorial of the *Reed River Pass* excepting a little plant of *Hermannia*, which appeared quite new and curious.

Having before stated that the Reed River consisted at this season of merely an unconnected line of ponds, it may have appeared contradictory to describe it as *running* through the pass, and I was myself surprised at the fact. On attentively examining the dry parts of the bed, it was found in most places sufficiently loose and gravelly to admit of a passage for the water *underground*. Without this being the case, it would be difficult to account for the limpid clearness and purity of the water of these pools.

Varying my route in returning homewards I came to a part of the river where the wild beauty and harmonious tints of the landscape detained me until I had taken a sketch. It was nearly sunset ; the water was smooth and transparent ; the distant hills glowed with a mild warm hue, and there was a certain beautiful appearance in the rushes which grew in the water along the bank that no painting could express. Their principal colour was a fine dark sober green, enlivened by the sun. Towards the bottom, where they were constantly wetted by the gentle rippling of the stream, a dark line, nearly black, marked the division between the real and the reflected stalks, so resembling each

other as almost to deceive the eye, and lead the spectator to believe that he saw rushes of a double length. Their tops being dead or half withered were of every shade between white, Naples-yellow, and light ochre, but more generally partaking of the white or the ochre. They spread in large extended patches, like a corn-field, often to a great distance from the water side, exhibiting an inimitable delicacy and graduation of keeping. The hills in the background, of a reddish barren hue mellowed by the rich light of the setting sun, contrasted, and rendered more beautiful the singular pale line formed by the tops of the rushes, whose tall, slender, straight form served to exemplify the assertion that, in a landscape, no shape or uniformity is unpleasing when shadowed and tinted by Nature. The observant artist may discover that the beauty of his picture depends far less on the choice of subject than on the mode of managing it. If those painters who, having neither taste nor genius, would spend a part of their time in the observation, and confine themselves to the plain copying of what is before them, their works would possess a certain share of merit; while, on the contrary, by attempting to soar above the imitation of Nature, their pictures are entitled only to that of being the production of their own imagination.

III

THE FROG'S CONCERT

EVERY pool and pond was completely dried up; even the *frogs* had disappeared and crept into holes in the

ground, there to lie, in silence and sleep, till the rains again called them forth. No sooner does the delightful element moisten the earth, and replenish the hollows, than every pool becomes a concert-room, in which frogs of all sizes, old and young, seem contending with each other for a musical prize. Some in deep tones perform their croaking bass, while the young ones, or some of a different species, lead in higher notes of a whistling kind. Tenors and trebles, counter-tenors, sopranos and altos, may be distinguished in this singular orchestra; while, at intervals, some ancient toad, as double-bass, joins in with a hollow croak, the lowest in the vocal scale. The noise thus produced, particularly in the evenings, is truly astonishing, and nearly stunning; but, to a traveller, the most surprising circumstance attending these musicians is their sudden appearance after the rains, where from the excessive aridity of the country he could, but a few days before, have hardly supposed that such animals had ever existed.

IV

THE GORĀH-PLAYER

IN this vicinity we discovered a kraal of *Bushmen*. Their numbers did not exceed twenty, and their abode was merely a cavern in the side of the mountain, sheltered by huge impending crags. They had no earthly possessions whatever, excepting the miserable bit of dirty skin which hung round them, their bows and arrows, a few hassagays, a knife, and two or

three ostrich egg-shells. They had not even a hut, or a few mats, like most of their countrymen. Neither beads, nor any thing intended as ornament, were to be seen upon them ; their persons, meagre and filthy, too plainly bespoke that hunger had often been their lot. Except when any game was caught in their pitfalls, which, they complained, seldom happened, the only procurable support of life was the wild roots which they daily dug up in the plains, and these, not found but by long and wearisome search ; the eggs of ants, the bodies of snakes or lizards, a tortoise, or an ostrich egg, met with accidentally, formed the only variety in their wretched food. Their life, and that of the wild beasts, their fellow inhabitants of the land, were the same. Of both, the only care seemed to be that of feeding themselves, and of bringing up their young. The four men who visited us to-day exhibited their lank, shrivelled bodies, and dry parched arms and legs, to convince us how much they needed provisions, and how long they had been without grease or animal food. They looked first wistfully at our pots which stood on the fire, and then submissively at us. Truly, these were the most destitute of beings, and the lowest in the scale of man. Their miserable poverty-stricken appearance excited the greatest compassion ; and as they stood before me, this wretched picture of human nature created a train of reflections perfectly new to my mind. What I had as yet seen of man in a wild state had amused while it interested and instructed me ; but this sad resemblance, in outward shape, to those great, intellectual and elevated characters, whose



PORTRAIT OF A BUSHMAN, PLAYING ON THE GORAH

From Burchell's "Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa" (London, 1822)

genius and talents have made their names immortal among us, distressed me to melancholy ; and while my eyes were fixed in painful observation on their vacant countenances, I asked myself, What is man ? and had almost said, Surely all the inhabitants of the globe never sprang from the same origin ! These men seemed, indeed, the outcast of the Bushman race. Yet, not to be unjust to them, I must own I have seen many like them ; but not, however, till a later period of my travels. I have now, I think, beheld and known the lowest of the human species, and it has taught me a lesson of humility and gratitude ; it has rendered still greater my admiration and respect for men of intellect and cultivated minds ; it has also taught me to be thankful to the industrious workman ; to feel kind compassion for the uneducated and the uncivilised ; and to despise the idle, the arrogant, and vain.

To feed the hungry is one of the pleasures of the philanthropist ; but that pleasure was here somewhat alloyed by the dog-like voracity with which they ate the meat we gave them, and their selfishness in not saving any of it to take home to their families. To this repast we added some pipes of tobacco, which raised their enjoyment to its highest. They squatted on the ground by the fire with the rest of our people, and remained till late in the evening before they thought of returning home to their kraal. I took my seat also amongst them, that I might the better watch their manners ; but finding at last that their smoking absorbed all their thoughts, and created an incapacity as well as a disinclination for conversation, I retired

to my wagon to try if the sound of my flute would have any effect upon them. With this they expressed themselves pleased, and even took the trouble of coming to the wagon to see by what means, and in what manner, the music was produced ; but the airs, though some of the liveliest, inspired no visible gaiety ; nor was the least demonstration of keeping time, by any motion of the body, observable. Yet they certainly felt some gratification, especially an old man, their chief, who was considered a good performer of the *Goráh*, an instrument of the greatest antiquity of all those which are now to be found in the hands of any tribe of the Hottentot race. Curious to see and to hear a genuine Hottentot musical instrument, I gave him to understand that I wished him to bring it on the morrow, and give me a specimen of his playing, to which he readily agreed.

On the morrow he returned, bringing with him not only his *Goráh* but several women, and all his family, who, till now, had not ventured to approach us, or, more probably, had been restrained by the men from coming. All his companions, whom we had entertained the day before, together with his two sons, repeated their visit, and were again well feasted.

The *Goráh*, as to its appearance and form, may be more aptly compared to the bow of a violin than to any other thing ; but, in its principles and use, it is quite different, being, in fact, that of a stringed and a wind instrument combined, and thus it agrees with the aeolian harp. But with respect to the principle on which its different *tones* are produced, it may be classed

with the trumpet or French horn ; while in the nature and quality of the sound which it gives, at least in the hands of one who is master of it, this strange instrument approaches to the violin.

It consists merely of a slender stick, or bow, on which a string of catgut is strained. But to the lower end of this string a flat piece, of about an inch and a half long, of the quill of an ostrich is attached, so as to constitute a part of the length of the string. This quill, being applied to the lips, is made to vibrate by strong inspirations and expirations of the breath, each of which, ending with an increased degree of strength, had always the effect of forcing out the upper octave ; exactly in the same way as produced on the flute, an instrument, therefore, which may be made to imitate the *goráh* sufficiently near to give some idea of it.

The old musician, seating himself down on a flat piece of rock, and resting his elbows on his knees, putting one forefinger into his ear and the other into his wide nostril, either as it so happened, or for the purpose, it might be, of keeping the head steady, commenced his solo, and continued it with great earnestness over and over again. The exertion which it required to bring out the tones loudly was very evident ; and, in his anxious haste to draw breath at every note, our *Orpheus* gave us into the bargain, intermingled with his music, certain grunting sounds which would have highly pleased the pigs ; and, if any had been in the country, would indubitably have drawn them all round him, if only out of curiosity to know what was the matter.

In the meantime I was not less employed than he, being obliged to exercise two faculties at the same time: one to listen to, and learn the notes he was playing, so as to enable me to write them down correctly; the other to draw his figure and portrait. The accompanying plate presents a likeness of him, and is a copy of the drawing made on the spot. Beneath are added the *notes* expressed in the manner in which they were played; or, at least, as they sounded to my ear, although I find a difficulty in conceiving how an instrument, giving its tones on the principle above described, can produce either the *tonum majus* or the *heptachordon*. The crotchets, of that part which is in triple time, were exactly of the same length as those in the common time preceding and following; consequently, the time, reckoning by bars, was there accelerated. The whole piece, played once through, occupied just seventy seconds, and was repeated without variation. There is sufficient in these few notes to show that he possessed an ear capable of distinguishing musical intervals, and they are besides remarkable under all circumstances as a specimen of natural modulation. In the following year I had an opportunity of noting down other pieces of Bushman music, which were in a style much differing from that which is here given.

Our female visitors, who were past the middle age, were extremely filthy and ugly; their small blinking eyes seemed as if nearly closed, or sunk into their head; wrinkles, filled with dirt, covered their faces and body; their hair was clotted together in large lumps, with

the accumulated grease and dust of years, perhaps of their whole lives ; and the odour with which they tainted the air kept me at the distance of a couple of yards, the nearest at which a person having any delicacy of smell could endure their presence. A wooden bowl, in which was left a quantity of liquid hippopotamus grease, was eagerly seized upon, and its contents drunk off, with an avidity most nauseous and disgusting to behold ; while that which still adhered to the bowl they carefully scraped out with their hands and smeared upon their bodies.

v

THE AFRICAN AURORA

THIS gave me an opportunity of making a comparison between the dawn of an African day and the superior beauty of that hour in Europe. This inferiority of the *African Aurora* is occasioned, perhaps, by the aridity of the climate and clearness of the atmosphere. It is to the want of clouds and vapour to receive and refract the first rays of the sun while still beneath the horizon that we must attribute the deficiency of those rosy and golden tints, and those beams of light, which decorate the morning sky of European countries. Yet the approach of daylight in the interior regions of this continent is not totally devoid of pleasing effects ; and, though less glowing and less enlivened by variety of hues and forms, it offers to an admiring eye a beauty of a more quiet and modest kind. While watching the cold darkness of night the eastern sky becomes less obscure, a faint light gradually increases ; the

stars seem to fade away, though the earth still continues in night ; a warm glow is perceptible, and soon spreads itself over the vault of heaven ; the trees along the horizon become visible, and, backed by the sky, the upper branches of those which are nearer are seen more distinctly ; the landscape begins to show its outline ; the light has reached the west ; the forms of objects are visible, but as yet present a painting in one colour only, a sombre brown, equally strong in the distance and in the foreground ; the whole atmosphere is illumined and reflects its light upon the earth ; the farthest verge of the plain becomes fainter and recedes, while the various clumps of trees follow to their place in the picture, and, assuming a just keeping, change their brown for the less dubious colours of day ; the azure of the sky is everywhere suffused with a warmer light ; Nature is awake, and, unattended by cloud or vapour, the sun himself is seen rising above the horizon in noontide brilliancy.

VI

THE BEAUTY OF THE PLAINS

IN the character of the *landscape* and its peculiar tints, a painter would find much to admire, though it differed entirely from the species known by the term ‘pictur-esque.’ But it was not the less beautiful, nor less deserving of being studied by the artist ; it was that kind of *harmonious beauty* which belongs to the extensive plains of Southern Africa. The pale yellow dry grass gave the prevailing colour, and long streaks of bushes,

as it seemed parallel to the horizon and gradually fading into the distance, sufficiently varied the uniformity of a plain ; while clumps of the soft and elegant acacia presented a feature which relieved these long streaks by an agreeable change of tint, and by the most pleasing forms backed by low azure hills in the farthest distance. Our horses and oxen grazing close at hand added a force to the foreground, and, by contrast, improving the tenderness of the general colouring, completed a landscape perhaps altogether imitable ; but which, if put on canvas, would form a picture of the most fascinating kind, and prove to European painters that there exists in this department of the art a species of beauty with which, possibly, they may not yet be sufficiently acquainted.

VII

A BACHAPIN CONCERT AND DANCE

THE Chief, now considering that the important affair of the gun was brought to a conclusion, dedicated the whole of this day, from seven in the morning till five in the afternoon, to *dancing*. As no intimation had been given me that such an amusement was about to take place, I was surprised when awakened by the sound of music ; and, on looking out of my wagon, I saw the Chief and a number of his party standing together tuning their pipes ready for a concert.

These *pipes*, which they call *līchákă*, are simply reeds¹ of various sizes and lengths, tuned to concord

¹ From the common reed (*Arundo barbata*) which grows in their rivers.

generally by means of a small movable plug in the lower end, and having their upper end or mouth cut transversely. This mouth is placed against the under lip, and the sound is produced by blowing into them, in the manner of a Pan's-reed. In order to keep the pipe steady, the forefinger rested above the upper lip, and the thumb against the cheek, while the other three fingers held the reed to its place. Each performer had but one pipe, and consequently was master of only one note of the scale, although at the same time there were among them several pipes in unison ; and it seemed that those notes of the gamut which were most likely to have produced discords were rejected from this band. Between the highest and lowest pipe there might, I imagined, be comprised an interval of twelve notes.

I saw no other instrument but the *líchákă* ; nor were these used by any but the dancers themselves, each of whom was furnished with one, and which he sounded frequently though irregularly. In this *music* I could discover no particular air, neither was it possible for me to write it down, as many notes were heard at the same time, joining in, perhaps merely accidentally, or without any preconcerted order. It must not, from these remarks, be concluded that this people are insensible to harmony and melody ; a sufficient proof to the contrary will be found in another place. By the dancers keeping time in their movements, a certain cadence was now and then perceptible in their music ; but, excepting this, no regularity could be distinguished in their performance ; although

I doubt not that their ear guided them in some manner, as the general effect of their music was pleasing and harmonious. It was not of a sprightly cast, nor noisy, neither was it sluggish or heavy ; but possessed something agreeably soothing, which prevented it, though continued with little intermission for ten hours, from wearying the ear. As there was in it no particular tune to be listened to, it seldom obtruded itself with a force which could distract the attention from other subjects. The effect of this concert, considered abstractly as musical sound, was very similar to that which in England may be felt on hearing, while at a little distance, the country-wagons passing along the road with a full team of well-tuned ‘latten bells’ ; than which few mixtures of sound not constituting regular music can, I think, be more pleasing.

When *the dancers*, who were all men, had tuned their reeds, they formed themselves into a ring, which sometimes consisted of about thirty persons, and at others of not more than ten or twelve, according to the inclination of those who joined or left the party ; but without attention to any observable order, or to any prearranged figure. The ring was drawn as closely together as their number would conveniently allow ; but each person danced separate without any attempt at a particular step or acquired movement of the feet, nor at any time did they join hands. In this form they moved round in a body, keeping time together by the assistance of a small party of women and girls who, without joining in the dance, followed them round, and regulated their steps by clapping

hands in exact measure, but without singing or any other noise.

The number of *women* engaged in this was not more than six or seven. Neither these nor the dancers were ornamented or dressed in any manner different from that in which they usually appeared.

The most of the men wore their kobo, placed so as to cover only one shoulder, a style of wearing usual in warm weather, and which their present exercise required. The grease and sibilo with which their heads were decorated melted with the warmth, and frequently ran down their face in drops. Some of them carried in their hand a very long *Kavāklūši*, which they occasionally used to wipe off the moisture from their face or neck.

This *Kavāklūši* is formed of two or three jackals' tails joined together in length by a stick of about four feet long thrust through them in the place of the bone. This stick, which must cost much labour to form, is generally taken from the heart of the *Mokaala-tree* or camel-thorn, as that part of the wood is extremely hard and of a fine black colour.

Although the dancers moved briskly, the ring itself turned but slowly, so that it made not more than one round in a minute. Sometimes, after a round or two, it moved back again with a contrary motion, keeping, however, always on the same spot. A number of people, above a hundred besides women and children, were in the mootsi during this performance; some stood looking on, but the greater part sat at a distance, or walked about.

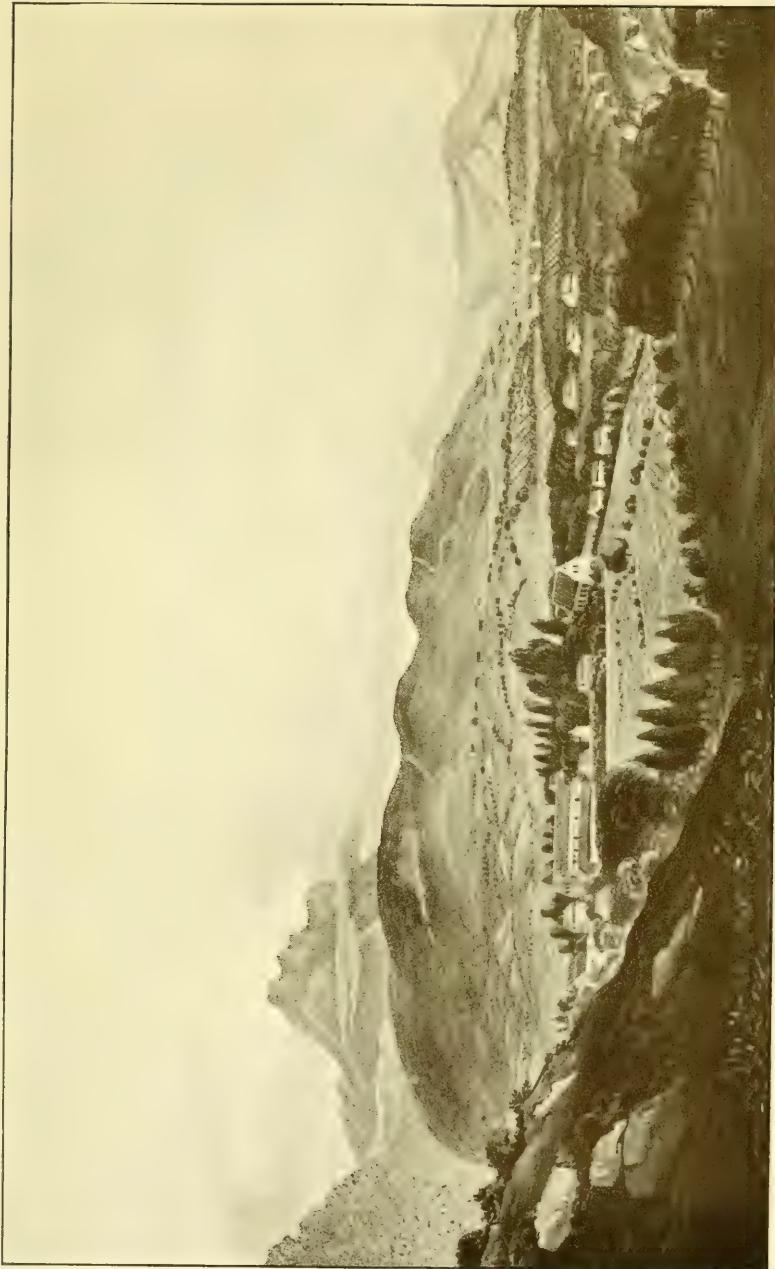
Mattivi and Mollemmi were among the most constant dancers ; but the whole party rested themselves at frequent intervals of two or three minutes. In this manner, and without any variation, they continued the amusement during the whole day. The pleasure which they derived from it seemed to have more the nature of soothing enjoyment than of mirth. Laughter was rarely to be observed, and talking was as seldom heard among those who were engaged in the dance. The women and children seemed to take equal delight in the scene, though merely spectators.

REV. C. I. LATROBE

[The gentle old Moravian Latrobe left England on 1st October 1815, to visit the settlement of the United Brethren in South Africa. The result of his journey is an altogether delightful book, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815 and 1816* (London, 1818), a quarto, illustrated with a series of beautiful aquatints in colour. Latrobe seems to have been inspired by the simple saintliness and humble humanity of his brotherhood, and he had besides a native gift of description.]

A SOUTH AFRICAN FARM

MEANWHILE Sister Schmitt reported, that on going to procure some milk from the farmer's wife, living on the hill eastward of our camp, she had found her to be a woman of uncommon size, occupying a huge arm-chair, above a yard wide, out of which she was scarcely able to lift herself. She had expressed a wish to see the whole of our party, and certainly, though she herself would excite as much curiosity in England as the famous Lambert, she had a right to consider us, as Englishmen, equally worthy of attention in Africa. Otherwise, being perfectly content with things of ordinary size and appearance, I should not have gone a step out of my way to see a monster. But being so kindly invited, we went in a body to pay the lady a morning visit at her own house, if the hovel she inhabited may be dignified by that name. It consisted



GENERAL VIEW OF THE MISSIONARIES' PREMISES AND PART OF THE VILLAGE OF GNADEN THAL
From Latrobe's "Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815 and 1816" (London, 1818)

of an oblong square, enclosed in a wall of unburnt bricks, one half of which was covered in a roof of rushes. The entrance was through the uncovered part. In this vestibule three or four naked slave-children were crawling about; a woman, partially clothed in rags, with a child strapped to her breast, was cooking some victuals at a fire, and dirt, guts, old shoes, rags of sheep-skins, and other filth, occupied every part of the premises, out and inside. On entering the main apartment, the first thing that met the eye was the carcase of a sheep just killed, hanging from a cross-beam, with a pool of blood on the clay floor, under the head; five fox-coloured cats were sitting round, watching for their share of the spoil; a milk-pail, churn, and some other kitchen utensils to the right; and to the left, the lady herself, who kindly invited Sister Schmitt to come and sit down on a stool between her and the pendant carcase. Her husband, a very civil old man, with a grey beard, and a large straw hat, sat at the table, and a bench was placed for us between the carcase and the door. The lady herself entered freely into conversation, told us that, notwithstanding her enormous bulk, she was only forty-three years old, and good-humouredly observed that Sister Schmitt looked now only like a little girl, passing several jokes on the difference between them. Her face still retained some vivacity and comeliness. Her body entirely filled the vast chair she sat in, on the arms of which her elbows rested. She intended soon to remove to another habitation on Serjeants Revier. When once hoisted into the wagon, she can no more quit it till

she arrives at the place of her destination. From her wooden throne she issued her commands to her slaves, Hottentots, and brutes, with the same shrill voice, for which the African ladies are noted. Close to the dwelling was the beast-kraal, and the surrounding premises exhibited a congeries of lumber, rags, ruin, and disorder, not to be described. Through all this chaos ran a small stream of spring-water, clear as crystal, in vain offering its aid to cleanse the Augean stable. The lady, however, conscious of mortality, had already provided herself with a coffin of immense size, which, with her gigantic bed, is screened off the apartment by a bulk-head of matting.

REV. JOHN CAMPBELL

[John Campbell was born in 1766, and was a schoolfellow of Sir Walter Scott. He was a religious fanatic of a mild and amiable type, and, as soon as he could free himself from business, devoted his whole energies to the arduous business of saving souls. In 1793 he helped to found the Religious Tract Society of Scotland, and was one of the founders of Sunday Schools. He also helped to found Magdalene Societies in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and with his friends Haldane, Zachary Macaulay, and Wilberforce, worked hard for slaves and foreign missions. In 1802 he became Minister of Kingsland Independent Chapel in London, and helped to found the Bible Society, and between 1812 and 1814 he travelled upwards of two thousand miles in South Africa, inspecting the missions of the London Missionary Society, a work which he did over again between 1819 and 1821. He died in 1840 at the age of seventy-four. His account of his first African journey appeared in one volume in 1814; and of his second, in two volumes, in 1822, while various religious lessons drawn from his travels are to be found in his little book, *African Light*. The following extract is taken from the 1822 volume. There is something at once humorous and sublime in the thought of this dear little gentleman in his surtout coat, beaver hat, and white pantaloons, with frilled neckcloth and seals at his fob, sharing his snuff, in the interests of evangelical truth, with the dusky harem of the King of Lattakoo.]

DANCING AT LATTAKOO

1820. 8th April.—The young men informed us in the morning of a dance they were to have before Mateebe's

house in the afternoon, to commemorate our arrival at Lattakoo. Therm. 78.

The dance began about four p.m. We looked at them for a short time. About twelve women stood in a row under the mimosa-tree, clapping their hands and singing, or rather screaming, to time. About the same number of men were dancing in two rows before them, making slow antic motions with their hands, and each assuming a countenance expressive of idiotism; the women, by turns stepping from their row, approached to and receded from the dancers, making similar motions with their hands and feet as the men, and putting on a similar stupidity of countenance. A relation of Mateebe's had her face strangely painted. Like the others it was smeared with red ochre, but an inch above and below her eyes was painted across with orange colour, and her legs with the same. Many of their attitudes and motions are significant; sometimes they elevate the hands above the head, as if gently putting off a covering, sometimes they stretch them out behind, as if to prevent a person pressing upon them, then before, as if wrapping ribbons round the arms. Again they appeared as if throwing something to the ground with which they are disgusted. Other motions resembled those of a person passing by some disagreeable object, which he was desirous that even his clothes should not touch.

Viewing the scene again about twilight, I observed an alteration had taken place in the dance. The women were now and then stepping from their rows, rushing towards the men and pushing against them,

like bulls, with their heads ; if the man who was attacked, and who was endeavouring to keep his step in the dance, happened to be overturned, it excited an universal laugh against him. I observed a young man intentionally fall before the attack of a young female loaded with beads. She was universally cheered for the victory she had obtained. The features of this scene were extremely savage, and appeared so shocking that I thought if an European army had come upon it unawares at the same hour in the evening, they would have been for a moment appalled, supposing the mouth of the infernal regions was open before them. Being observed to stand at the gate, I was instantly surrounded by a multitude of women, holding out their hands and loudly bawling for snuff, of which, if possible, they are fonder than the men. I put some into each hand while it lasted. I detected one of a fraud, for no sooner had I put snuff into her right hand than she withdrew it, and held out the other as if she had received none. When the box was emptied all walked off and rejoined the show. The Bootshuana who had travelled with us in the colony would not join in the dance, but spoke of it with apparent contempt. His brother, who came from a distance to meet him at Lattakoo, did not join in the dance, but another relation did, who at one time came out and invited him to dance with them ; however, he shook his head and would not comply. He considers himself above doing such mean, unmanly things, in consequence of his having been so long among white men.

I was gratified to observe twenty or thirty Mat-

chappees at the prayer-meeting in the evening, notwithstanding the uproar in the town, which was almost frightful during the whole time of our meeting. The dancing ended about ten at night, after continuing six hours without intermission, which was considered a short time. Had it been moonlight the dance would probably have been protracted till break of day, when the women would have proceeded to their work in the field as brisk and lively as if they had slept the whole night. They are never observed to require drink on such occasions, notwithstanding the perspiration occasioned by their great exertion. They can travel long without water, and live and look well on a small quantity of provisions. They do not regard heat; but all work, out of doors, is at an end on the least rain falling. This may be owing to its effect on their skin dresses, which it hardens, and because it washes off the paint that covers their bodies. When they have no food they resort to copious draughts of water. The expedient of a Hottentot is very different on such an occasion; he ties a cord very tight round his waist if travelling, or if at home he endeavours to drive away hunger by sleep, which, like the dog, he seems able to command at any time.

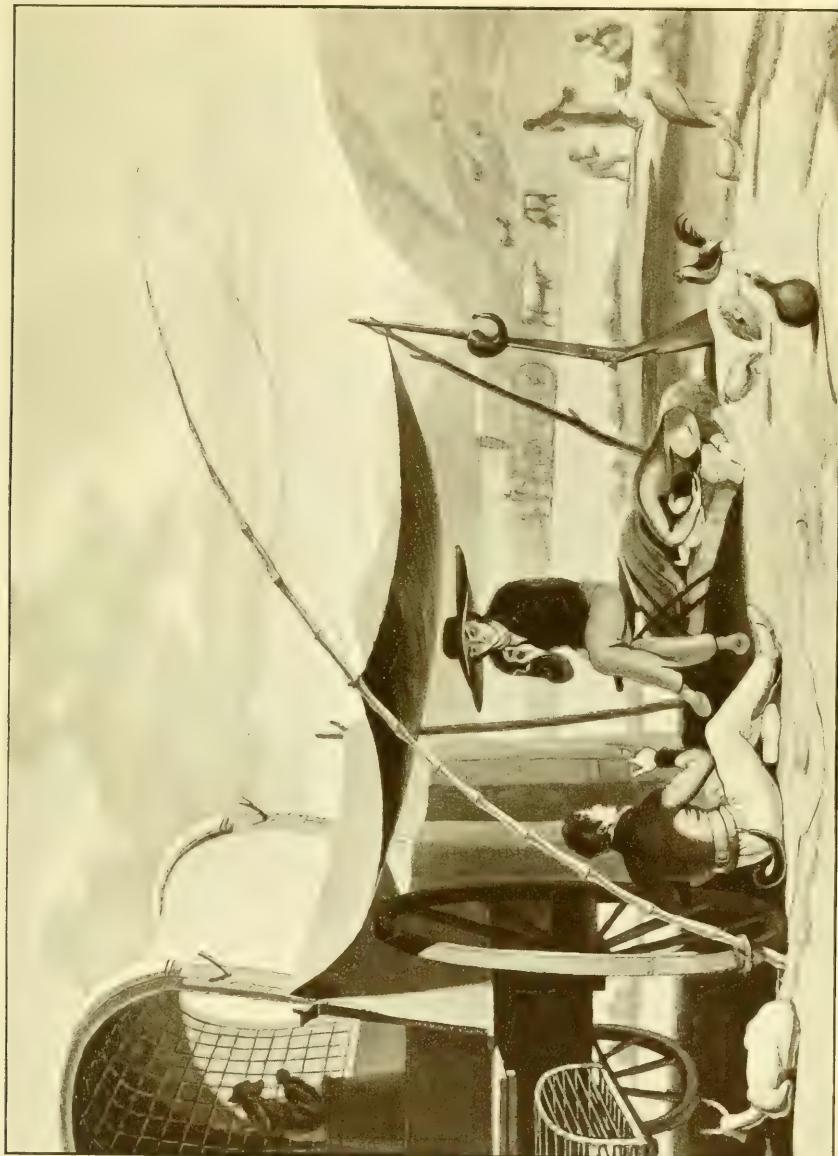
THOMAS PRINGLE

[Thomas Pringle is too well known (I had almost said ‘hackneyed’) to justify long quotation. He was born at Blaiklaw, Scotland, on 5th January 1789, and was educated in Kelso and Edinburgh. In 1808 he was appointed to a clerkship in the Scottish Public Records Office, and in 1817 began his connection with *Blackwood's Magazine*. With his family he took part in the Albany Settlement of 1820, and occupied land in a valley near Baviaan's River, afterwards called Glen Lynden. After two years of this life Pringle removed to Cape Town, and was appointed Librarian of the South African Library. He opened an academy, and in conjunction with Mr. John Fairbairn started *The South African Journal*, a paper which aroused the natural indignation of the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, whom it attacked in a manner which would hardly be tolerated even now, and was thus dangerous to the public peace. Pringle returned to England and became Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, a post he held for seven years. He died on 5th December 1834. He was the first South African poet; but to my thinking his best work is his *Narrative of a Residence in South Africa* (1835), an admirable piece of prose.]

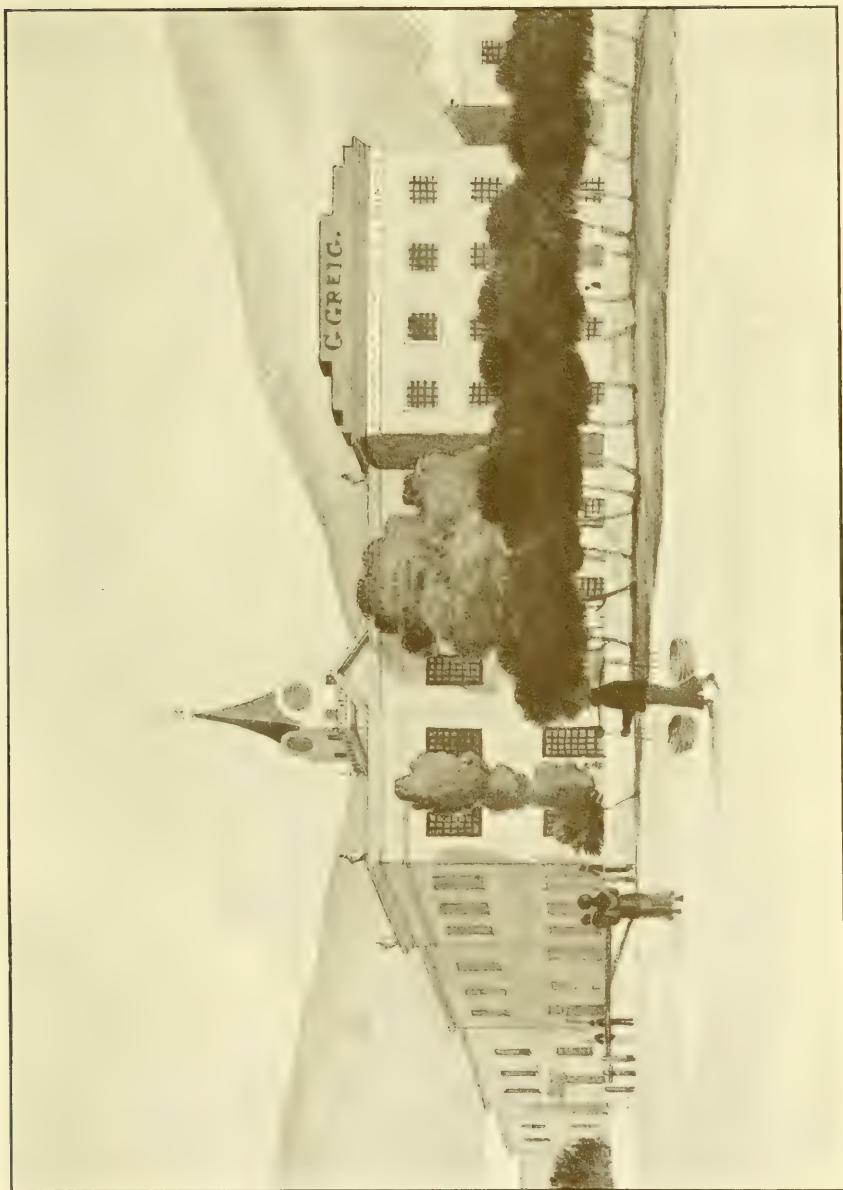
A NOCTURNAL ENCAMPMENT

IT was not a little amusing after supper (as I sat in the front of my wagon jotting down in my note-book the day's memoranda) to contemplate the characteristic groups which our rustic camp exhibited. The Dutch-African Boers, most of them men of almost gigantic

size, sat apart in their bushy *bield*, in aristocratic exclusiveness, smoking their huge pipes with self-satisfied complacency. Some of the graver emigrants were seated on the decayed trunk of a tree, conversing in broad Scotch on subjects connected with our settlement, and on the comparative merits of long and short-horned cattle (the horns of the native oxen, by the way, are enormous) : and the livelier young men and servant lads were standing round the Hottentots, observing their merry pranks, or practising with them a lesson of mutual tuition in their respective dialects ; while the awkward essays at pronunciation on either side supplied a fund of ceaseless entertainment. Conversation appeared to go on with alacrity, though neither party understood scarcely a syllable of the other's language ; while a sly rogue of a Bushman sat behind, all the while, mimicking, to the very life, each of us in succession. These groups, with all their variety of mien and attitude, character and complexion, —now dimly discovered, now distinctly lighted up by the fitful blaze of the watch-fires ; the exotic aspect of the clumps of aloes and euphorbias, peeping out amidst the surrounding jungle, in the wan light of the rising moon, seemed to the excited fancy like bands of Caffre warriors crested with plumes and bristling with assagais ; together with the uncouth clucking gibberish of the Hottentots and Bushmen (for there were two or three of the latter tribe among our wagon leaders), and their loud bursts of wild and *eldrich* laughter, had altogether a very strange and striking effect, and made some of us feel far more impressively than we had yet



HALT OF A BOOR'S FAMILY
From Samuel Daniell's "African Scenery" (London, 1804 (v5))



GREIG'S OLD PUBLISHING HOUSE, CAPE TOWN

From water-colour sketch in the Mendelsohn Collection

felt, that we were now indeed pilgrims in the wilds of savage Africa.

By degrees the motley groups became hushed, under the influence of slumber. The settlers retired to their tents or their wagons ; the Boers, sticking their pipes in the bands of their broad-brimmed hats, wrapt themselves in their greatcoats, and fearless of snake or scorpion, stretched their limbs on the bare ground ; while the Hottentots, drawing themselves each under his sheep-skin *caross*, lay coiled up, with their feet to the fire and their faces to the ground, like so many hedgehogs. Over the wide expanse of wilderness, now reposing under the midnight moon, profound silence reigned,—unbroken save by the deep breathing of the oxen round the wagons, and, at times, by the far-off melancholy howl of a hyaena, the first voice of a beast of prey we had heard since our landing. With the nightly serenade of the jackal and hyæna we soon became familiar ; nor did any more formidable visitants disturb us during our journey.

ALLEN FRANCIS GARDINER

[Captain Gardiner, the son of an Oxfordshire gentleman, was born in 1794, and after receiving an evangelical education, entered the Royal Naval College, Plymouth. He distinguished himself as an officer of the Royal Navy between 1810 and 1826, rising to the rank of Commander. But he had always a bent for missionary work, and some years afterwards he started the first missionary station in Natal, and entered into the dangerous and turbulent current of Zulu and Port Natal affairs. His *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country in South Africa, in 1835, 1836*, is one of the best early accounts of the strange Military Empire over which Dingaan ruled. Zululand was too much for Gardiner. Driven out by the intractable ferocity of the natives, he turned his attention to the Indians of Chili, where he laboured from 1838 to 1843. He visited Tierra del Fuego in 1842, and in 1844 helped in an unsuccessful attempt to establish a mission in Patagonia. In 1845 he was distributing Bibles among the Indian population of Bolivia, and in 1848 he was heroically carrying out a survey of Tierra del Fuego, preparatory to the establishment of a mission in that abominable country. In 1850 he set out upon his last great enterprise; he and his party were unable to instil any Christian kindness into the hearts of the Fuegians; and food running short, the devoted party gradually died of starvation, Gardiner expiring last, it is believed on 6th September 1851. He was a magnificent type of the Christian English sailor, a simple hero who lived and died for his faith.]

I

DINGAAN AT HOME

ONE afternoon, while occupied in what may be esteemed a very puerile amusement, planning out the rooms of a

house with stones laid together on the ground on the spot which, if permission could be obtained, I had selected for the mission buildings, a messenger, running and breathless, came to inform me that Dingaan was waiting to see me. I found the king seated near the fence of some detached houses at the back of the Isigodhlo, where I was joined by my interpreter, who informed me that several messengers had already been despatched for me in several directions. Dingaan appeared in high good humour, but with a degree of mystery which rather prepared me for some strange antic. He began some trifling conversation to eke out the time, when suddenly the head of a column of the most grotesque-looking figures debouched from their ambush on the right, and marched past four deep, raising and lowering their bent arms, as though in the act of tugging at steeple bell-ropes, and repeating two lines of a song as they passed, which may be thus translated :

‘ Arise ! vulture !
Thou art the bird that eateth other birds.’

When they had passed and re-passed in this order, they appeared again, broken into irregular companies, according to the colour of their dresses ; and seeing that I admired the arrangement of the beads, with which they were literally covered, they were ordered to advance in files, and to approach nearer that their dresses might be inspected. They proved to be no other than the king’s women, about ninety in number, decorated as they usually are previous to the army taking the field. Their faces were veiled with pendants of beads, with

which also the petticoat was covered, forming an elegant chequered pattern, while their throats and arms were adorned with large brass rings. Some wore short cloaks, also covered with different-coloured beads, and all two strange feathers, which gave them a very uncouth appearance. For women they seemed to be in a high state of discipline, and rather enjoyed the display than otherwise ; and Dingaan seemed to be highly gratified by the well-merited encomiums which I paid to his taste, every one of these devices having originated in his fertile imagination. It was nearly dark before this extraordinary exhibition was ended, Dingaan, during the latter part, frequently turning round and addressing me thus : ‘ Are we not a merry people ? ’ ‘ What black nations can vie with us ? ’ ‘ Who among them can dress as we do ? ’ It was some of these ladies whom I met on my first approach to the town after missing my party ; they had been bathing ; but I have frequently met large parties of them carrying burdens for the use of the Isigodhlo, and more than once seen them marching out, with Dingaan at their head, and employing themselves in weeding his corn and ‘ imfi ’ grounds, while he inspected the crop.

II

ZULU ELOQUENCE

A FEW days after this painful occurrence, a chief named Geogo, at the head of a large detachment from this regiment, came from a distant part of the country for the purpose of begging for shields. As all the cattle

folded in the military kraals belong to the king, and but few are killed there in proportion to the numbers which are daily slaughtered at the capital, this is in consequence of the great deposit of shields which are manufactured, and this is the constant and almost the only occupation of the men, two being formed from each hide. The reception of the party, which was somewhat curious, I shall now describe. Their arrival at the principal gate of the town having been announced to the king, an order was soon after sent for their admission, when they all rushed up with a shout, brandishing their sticks in a most violent manner, until within reasonable distance of the Isigodhlo, where they halted. Dingaan soon mounted his pedestal and showed himself over the fence, on which a simultaneous greeting of 'Bayete !' ran through the line in which they were now formed. He soon disappeared, and they then seated themselves on the ground they occupied. Dingaan shortly after came out, the two indunas and a number of his great men having already arrived, and seated themselves in semi-circular order on each side of his chair, from whom he was, however, removed to a dignified distance. Tambuza, who is a great speaker on all these occasions, and the professed scolder when necessity requires, was now on his legs. To speak publicly in any other position would, I am convinced, be painful to a Zulu ; nor is he content with mere gesticulation : actual space is necessary—I had almost said, enough for a cricket-ball to bound in ; but that would be hyperbole. A run, however, he must have, and I have been surprised at the grace and effect which

this novel accompaniment to the art of elocution has often given to the point and matter of his discourse. In this character Tambuza is inimitable, and shone especially on the present occasion, having doubtless been instructed by the king, in whose name he addressed Geogo and his party, to interlard his oration with as many pungent reproofs and cutting invectives as his imagination could invent or his natural disposition suggest. On a late expedition, it appears that the troops now harangued, had not performed the service expected. They had entered the territory of Umsilikazi, and instead of surrounding and capturing the herds within their reach, had attended to some pretended instructions to halt and return : some palliating circumstances had, no doubt, screened them from the customary rigour on such occasions, and this untoward occurrence was now turned to the best advantage. After a long tirade, in which Tambuza ironically described their feeble onset and fruitless effort, advancing like Mercury to fix his dart, and gracefully retiring as though to point a fresh barb for the attack ; now slackening his wrath by a journey to the right, and then as abruptly recoiling to the left—by each detour increasing in vehemence—the storm was at length at its height, and, in the midst of the tempest he had stirred, he retired to the feet of his sovereign, who, I remarked, could scarcely refrain from smiling at many of the taunting expressions that were used. Geogo's countenance can better be imagined than described at this moment. Impatient to reply, he now rose from the centre of the line, his person decorated with strings of pink beads,

worn over his shoulders like a crossbelt, and large brass rings on his arms and throat. ‘Amanga !’ (it is false) was the first word he uttered. The various chivalrous deeds of himself and of his men were then set forth in the most glowing colours, and a scene ensued which I scarcely know how to describe. Independent of his own energetic gesticulations, his violent leaping and sententious running, on the first announcement of any exculpatory fact, indicating their prowess in arms, one or more of the principal warriors would rush from the ranks to corroborate the statement by a display of muscular power in leaping, charging, and pantomimic conflict which quite made the ground to resound under his feet ; alternately leaping and galloping (for it is not running) until, frenzied by the tortuous motion, their nerves were sufficiently strong for the acme posture—vaulting several feet in the air, drawing the knees towards the chin, and at the same time passing the hands between the ankles. In this singular manner were the charges advanced and rebutted for a considerable time ; Dingaan acting behind the scenes as a moderator, and occasionally calling off Tambuza as an unruly bull-dog from the bait. At length, as though imperceptibly drawn into the argument, he concluded the business in these words : ‘When have we ever heard any good thing of Geogo ? What has Geogo done ? It is a name that is unknown to us. I shall give you no shields until you have proved yourselves worthy of them. Go and bring me some cattle from Umsilikazi, and then shall shields be given to you.’ A burst of applause rang from all sides on this unexpected announce-

ment, under which, in good taste, the despot made his exit, retiring into the Isigodhlo, while bowls of beer were served out to the soldiers, who with their indunas were soon after observed marching over the hills on their way to collect the remainder of their regiment for the promised expedition. I am inclined to think that there was much of state policy in all these proceedings, particularly as the order for the attack on Umsilikazi was shortly after countermanded, and not more than ten or twelve days elapsed before the same party returned and received their shields.

REV. F. OWEN

[The following extract is from the famous journal kept by the missionary, the Rev. F. Owen, who was at the court of Dingaan when the massacre of Retief and his fellow-Boers took place. The journal was printed in the *Church Missionary Record* of October 1838.]

THE MASSACRE OF RETIEF AND HIS PARTY

1838. 6th February.—A dreadful day in the annals of the mission. I shudder to give an account of it. This morning as I was sitting in the shade of my wagon, reading the Testament, the usual messenger came, with hurry and anxiety depicted in his looks. I was sure that he was about to pronounce something serious. And what was his commission ? While it showed consideration and kindness in the Zulu monarch towards me, it disclosed a horrid instance of perfidy—too horrid to describe—towards the unhappy men who for a few days have been his guests, and are now no more. He sent to tell me not to be frightened, as he was going to kill the Boers. This news came like a thunderstroke to myself and to every successive member of my family as they heard it. The reason assigned for this treacherous act was that they were going to kill him ; that they had come here, and that he had now learnt all their plans. The messenger was anxious for my answer ;

but what could I say ? I was fearful on the one hand of seeming to justify the treachery ; and on the other of exposing myself and my family to probable danger if I appeared to take their part. Moreover, I could not but feel that it was my duty to apprise the Boers of the intended massacre ; while certain death would have ensued, I apprehended, if I had been detected in giving them this information. However, I was released from this dilemma by beholding an awful spectacle. My attention was directed to the blood-stained hill nearly opposite my hut, and on the other side of my wagon, which hides it from view, where all the executions at this fearful spot take place, and which was destined now to add sixty more bleeding carcasses to the number of those which have already cried to heaven for vengeance. ‘There !’ said some one, ‘they are killing the Boers now !’ I turned my eyes, and, behold ! an immense multitude on the hill. About nine or ten Zulus to each Boer were dragging their helpless, unarmed victims to the fatal spot—where those eyes which waked this morning to see the cheerful sight of day for the last time, are now closed in death. I laid myself down on the ground. Mrs. and Miss Owen were not more thunderstruck than myself. We comforted one another. Presently, the deed of blood being accomplished, the whole multitude returned to the town to meet their sovereign ; and, as they drew near to him, set up a shout which reached the station, and continued for some time. Meanwhile, I myself had been kept from all fear for our personal safety ; for I considered the message of Dingaan to me as an

indication that he had no ill designs against the missionary, especially as the messenger informed me that the Boers' interpreter (an Englishman from Port Natal) was to be preserved. Nevertheless, fears afterwards obtruded themselves on me when I saw half a dozen men with shields sitting near our hut ; and I began to tremble lest we were to fall the next victims. At this crisis I called all my family in, and read Psalm xci ; so singularly and literally applicable to our present situation, that I could with difficulty proceed with it. I endeavoured to realise all its statements ; and although I did not receive them as an absolute provision against sudden and violent death, I was led to Him who is our refuge from the guilt and fear of sin, which alone makes death terrible.

HENRY FRANCIS FYNN

[Fynn never, as far as we know, carried out his intention to write a history of Natal. All we have are the fragments published in Bird's *Annals* (itself a scarce book). We are there informed that Fynn arrived at Cape Town in 1818, and proceeded to the eastern frontier. Returning to the Cape in 1822, he went as super-cargo to a merchant vessel in Delagoa Bay, and travelled some distance inland. In 1824 he went to Natal as one of the representatives of a syndicate of Cape merchants, and spent some time in exploring the country as far southwest as the Umtata. He withdrew for a time from all companionship with Europeans, in order to learn the language of the natives, and he gradually made himself chief of a considerable body of broken tribes and outlaws. His negotiations with Chaka and his successor were always delicate, and were subject to startling interruptions. Port Natal was always liable to be raided and laid in ruins by the Zulus, as indeed twice happened, and Fynn's life was a continual succession of narrow escapes. In 1825 Fynn was chief of the Umbilo and Bellair District, King having chosen the Bluff, and Wentworth and Farewell the present site of Durban. When Dingaan became King of the Zulus he picked a quarrel with the settlement, and Fynn not being quite quick enough in escaping his commando, was overtaken and badly punished. Yet in 1831 we find Fynn made Great Chief by his former enemy. In 1834 Fynn left Natal for Cape Colony, and thus escaped the subsequent disaster in which the 'Grand Army' of the settlers was overwhelmed. He was one of the headquarters interpreters during the Kafir War of that period, and served under Sir Harry Smith as a diplomatist and commissioner in Amapondo

and Tambuki affairs. Afterwards Fynn occupied the post of Assistant Magistrate and Resident Magistrate in Natal.

I

CHAKA'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST SIKONYANA, KING OF THE ENDWANDWE

ON the following day Chaka arrived with the remainder of the forces, and next morning we proceeded in one body to a forest, where we rested for two days, awaiting the return of the spies. Several regiments were sent to the kraals deserted by the hostile nation, the people having betaken themselves to a general rendezvous. They returned on the evening of the following day, loaded with corn, a great luxury to us who had had nothing but meat for several days.

. . . The spies returning, the army moved forward and encamped in an extensive forest, from which the enemy was not far distant. We had generally marched ahead to relieve ourselves from dust, and we had done so this morning till we came within sight of the enemy, when we thought that we ought to join Chaka. We found that he was on the opposite mountain, and seeing a regiment with white shields I directed my course to it at once. . . .

When I had reached the bottom of the hill, and was ascending the opposite one, expecting to find Chaka there, I met one of his servants, who informed me that the king had remained at the forest, and advised me to turn back, as the ascent being difficult the regiment would leave me a long way behind. Being a stranger to their mode of attack, I determined to ascend the

mountain and be a spectator of passing events. The hill from which we had first seen the enemy presented to our view an extensive valley, to the left of which was a hill separated by another valley from an immense mountain. On the upper part of this there was a rocky eminence, near the summit of which the enemy had collected all his forces, surrounding their cattle ; and above them the women and children of the nation in a body. They were sitting down awaiting the attack. Chaka's forces marched slowly and with caution, in regiments, each regiment divided into companies, till within twenty yards of the enemy, when they made a halt. Although Chaka's troops had taken up a position so near, the enemy seemed disinclined to move, till Jacob had fired at them three times. The first and second shots seemed to make no impression on them, for they only hissed, and cried in reply, 'That is a dog.' At the third shot, both parties, with a tumultuous yell, clashed together, and continued stabbing each other for about three minutes, when both fell back a few paces. Seeing their losses about equal, both armies raised a cry, and this was followed by another rush, and they continued closely engaged about twice as long as in the first onset, when both parties again drew off. But the enemy's loss had now been the more severe. This urged the Zulus to a final charge. The shrieks now became terrific. The remnant of the enemy's army sought shelter in an adjoining wood, out of which they were soon driven. Then began a slaughter of the women and children. They were all put to death. The cattle, being taken

by the different regiments, were driven to the kraal lately occupied by Sikunyana. The battle, from the commencement to the close, did not last more than an hour and a half. The numbers of the hostile tribe, including women and children, could not have been less than 40,000. The number of cattle taken was estimated at 60,000. The sun having set while the cattle were being captured, the whole valley during the night was a scene of confusion. . . . Many of the wounded had managed to crawl to the spot, but for the wounded of the enemy there was no hope. Early next morning Chaka arrived, and each regiment, previous to its inspection by him, had picked out its 'cowards' and put them to death. Many of these, no doubt, forfeited their lives only because their chiefs were in fear that, if they did not condemn some as being guilty, they would be suspected of seeking a pretext to save them, and would incur the resentment of Chaka. No man who had been actually engaged in the fight was allowed to appear in the king's presence until a purification by the doctor had been undergone. This doctor gave each warrior certain roots to eat, and to every one who had actually killed an enemy an additional number. To make their bravery as public as possible, bits of wood are worn round the neck, each bit supposed to reckon for an enemy slain. To the ends of this necklace are attached bits of the root received from the doctor, part of which had been eaten ; they then proceed to some river to wash their persons ; and until this has been done, they may not eat any food except the meat of cattle killed on the day of battle.

Having washed, they appear before the king, when thanks or praise are the last thing they have to expect ; censure being loudly expressed on account of something that had not been done as it should have been ; and they get well off if one or two chiefs and a few dozen soldiers are not struck off the army list by being put to death.

During the afternoon, a woman and a child of the defeated tribe, the latter aged about ten years, were brought before the king, and he made every inquiry respecting Sikunyana ; what had been his plans when he heard of the intended attack, and what was the general feeling as to the result. To induce her to set aside all fear, he gave her some beer and a dish of beef, which she ate, while giving all the information she was possessed of. When her recital was finished, both mother and child were sentenced to instant death. Being present, I begged the life of the child, that it might become my servant. An application to save the life of both was little likely to succeed. From her information, Chaka found that Sikunyana with a few men had escaped, and a regiment was ordered to pursue them, whilst another was detached to kill the wounded of the enemy. The army then commenced its return home.

II

THE DEATH OF CHAKA'S MOTHER

WHILE Chaka was engaged in hunting elephants, he received intelligence that his mother was seriously ill, which induced him to suspend the hunt and pro-

ceed immediately to her residence, a distance of eighty miles from the hunting-ground, which distance was travelled during the latter part of the day and night. Fynn¹ had been with Chaka some time, and various cases had occurred in which he had been successful in restoring health to sick natives, and once healing Chaka himself when severely wounded. Implicit confidence was placed in his skill, and he was on this occasion requested to visit Chaka's mother. He found her in the agonies of death, and she expired an hour after his arrival. Fynn in two previous instances had been at mournings, but little anticipated the scene he was now to witness, or the alarming height to which it was to be carried. The whole scene was a political scheme in furtherance of Chaka's vain imaginations, and to keep the minds of his people filled with wonder. No sooner was her death announced than the people tore from their bodies every description of ornament. When Chaka, accompanied by his chiefs in their war-attire, appeared near the hut in which she had died, he stood for twenty minutes in a silent melancholy attitude, while his tears dropped on his shield. At length his feelings were ungovernable; he became frantic. The chiefs and people, to the number of about fifteen thousand, commenced the most dismal and horrid yells; the inmates of the neighbouring kraals came pouring in. Each body, as they came in sight, although at the distance of half a mile, followed the example. The cries continued during the night, no one daring to sleep, or even to take water to refresh

¹ Fynn often writes of himself in the third person.

himself. By morning the numbers had increased to upwards of sixty thousand. The cries now became indescribably horrid. Hundreds were lying faint from excessive fatigue and want, although not less than forty oxen had been slaughtered as offerings to the spirits, the flesh of which was not allowed to be eaten. About ten o'clock the war-song was sung, which slightly revived them. When it was concluded they became uncontrollable. Chaka had several executed upon the spot. The multitude, bent on convincing their chief of their extreme grief, commenced a general massacre. Those who could no longer force tears from their eyes, those who were found near the river panting for water, were furiously beaten to death ; and towards midday each took this opportunity of revenging an injury, real or imaginary, the weak falling by the hands of the stronger. By three o'clock not less than seven thousand had fallen in this unjustifiable massacre. The adjacent river became impassable, and on the ground blood flowed in streams. The horrid cries continued till ten the following morning, when Chaka became somewhat pacified, and the people were permitted to take some refreshment. Till then the scene had been local, but the chiefs, anxious to show further their excited feelings, despatched bodies of their soldiery to all parts of the country, and massacred all who had not been present to lament the death of Chaka's mother. When the seat of majesty was quiet, several speeches were made by the chiefs. The following resolutions were to be strictly observed. As the Great Female Elephant, the goddess or rather the overruling spirit

of vegetation, had died, and it was not improbable that heaven and earth would come together, no cultivation was to be allowed that year, no milk was to be taken as food, the milk of the cattle to be spilled on the ground ; and all women who should be found in a state of pregnancy during the following twelve months should, with their husbands, be punished with death. For the three ensuing months these orders were strictly adhered to and the latter for a whole year. The first two were permitted to be withdrawn on the chiefs and principal warriors offering a forfeiture of cattle. During the following year, the tribe were three times called together to repeat their lamentations for the death of the Female Elephant. On the last occasion the cattle of the whole tribe were collected, the bellowing of which was to be figurative of their lamentation. On this occasion Chaka was to be washed from all uncleanness. Every individual possessing cattle killed a calf by ripping open its side ; then took out the gall, while the animal was still living, and sprinkled it round their chief. The calves were allowed to die in agony, and it was not permitted to eat their flesh. As a concluding resolution, it was decreed that as the death of so great a personage ought to be generally felt throughout the land, and as tears could not be forced from foreigners, an attack should be made on the frontier tribes, whose cattle should be considered as tears shed for Chaka's mother.

On the third day after the death of the Great Female Elephant, a grave was dug near the spot where she died, in which she was placed in a sitting posture ;

and Fynn learned from some of the attendants, though it is now endeavoured to deny the fact, that ten females of her retinue were buried alive with her. Fynn was prevented from being an eye-witness to this scene, as he would, according to custom, have been compelled to remain at the burying-ground for twelve months after. All those present were formed into a regiment, and resided on the spot for a year, and cattle to the number of 15,000 were contributed by all cattle-holders for the use of this regiment.

NATHANIEL ISAACS

[Nathaniel Isaacs was a London Jew who left England in 1822, at the age of fourteen, to join 'Mr. S. Solomons, my maternal uncle, a merchant of unquestionable reputation,' in St. Helena. Isaacs, however, soon saw, as his no less sagacious uncle afterwards discovered, that the little island was too narrow a field for the activities characteristic of his race. He had besides 'imbibed a strong predilection for the sea,' and when, in 1825, the brig *Mary* came to the island with Lieutenant King of the Royal Navy as its commander, young Isaacs was offered a chance which delighted the lad beyond measure. King's design was to embark in trade with the natives on the south-east coast of Africa, which he had before visited. King seems to have been a fine type of the British naval officer, and Isaacs adored him with the romantic hero-worship of boyhood. Thus began a story stranger than all the legends of romance. The brig was wrecked in making what is now Port Natal, and King and Isaacs found themselves among a small party of English traders, elephant-hunters, and incidentally empire-makers, established on the sea coast, and living like a mouse in a lion's ear, under the shadow of Zulu power. Isaacs' adventures in the country, the death of King, and the strange fortunes of the settlement, are graphically told in the *Travels and Adventures in Eastern Africa* (London, 1836), from which the following extracts are taken. It is unfortunate that the whole story of Isaacs' life has never been written, filled as it was with the lust of travel and adventure, and ending strangely in some tropical island on the coast of Guinea.]

I

EARLY DAYS IN NATAL

HAVING somewhat recovered from the gloom which our calamitous situation had created, I resumed my view of the coast opposite to our position, and sought to discover if any more of the natives had made their appearance. Everything indicated a wild and uncivilised country, where nature had been lavish of her bounty, but where the art and industry of man had been little applied in improving her works. The scenery had an appearance of grandeur; there were verdure and spontaneous vegetation, but cultivation was confined to occasional patches, and did not extend over regular spaces or extensive plots. There was, however, a savage wildness that could only impress us with forebodings respecting Mr. Farewell and his party, of whom we were in search, which led us to apprehend that they had all fallen by the savage hands of the tribes who might occasionally visit the coast. Our apprehensions, however, in the sequel, proved premature, for we found them to be alive. About four P.M., to our inexpressible joy, we could perceive a party of eight people, who appeared to have come from the eastern side of the bay, and had walked to Point Fynn. On their arrival at the Point, they planted a worn-out Union Jack on a small hillock abreast of our vessel. The reader may imagine what were my feelings at such a moment, when I had been impressed with a conviction that no humanised being inhabited the coast; when I had imagined that we were cast upon a shore

where civilised man had never dared to set his foot! They were enviable indeed, for few only enjoy them, and taste the sweets they give. The effect of such a signal was soul-stirring and irresistible; and, with the alacrity of an experienced tar, I descended from my station in the maintop, seized the first flag I could meet with, hoisted it in the rigging, where it waved gaily in the breeze. My delight was uncontrollable at having discovered something in the shape of civilised man, apparently manifesting a desire to shelter us in the bitter moments of calamity.

But the sudden ray of joy which thus beamed upon us was soon overcast by a cloud of apprehensions. Much doubt followed our momentary gratification, and we soon discovered fresh cause for anxiety. On minutely surveying the group six of them appeared in a state of nudity; one was clad in tattered European garments, and the other in a female garb, with her head tied up in a handkerchief. Our imaginations were now excited, and gloomy thoughts pervaded us. We one and all concluded that the Europeans of whom we were in search had been massacred, and that the people we despaired sought to decoy us ashore, where they would be joined by others, fall upon us, make us their captives, and devote us to the gratification of their savage propensities.

Lieutenant King, however, resolved upon putting an end to these doubts by approaching the shore in the long-boat; and I, nothing loath, but rather anxious to know my fate, expressed a wish to accompany him, to which he assented.

Having equipped myself for the purpose, with a brace of pistols and a wallet of bread, I, like my companions, descended from the bowsprit of the vessel into the boat; we then made for the shore with as much speed as the rough state of the sea would permit. Approaching the beach we lay on our oars until the strangers arrived at the water's edge. The man clad in European attire, and who turned out to be an Englishman, took off his cap, made of cat skins, and saluted us. We then, without hesitation, pulled through the surf and embraced the stranger, looking upon him as a guardian angel sent to snatch us from that destruction to which we thought ourselves inevitably doomed.

This individual proved to be Thomas Holstead, a youth about my own age, and belonging to Mr. Farewell's party. The rest of the group consisted of a Hottentot woman in a dungaree petticoat, with a blue cotton handkerchief tied round her head; five natives, entirely naked; and a female with a piece of bullock's hide fastened round her waist, hanging to the knees, made black with charcoal, and softened by frequent rubbing. Her personal appearance was not attractive: she was ordinary and of middle stature, but her arms, from the elbow to the shoulder, exhibited one continued cicatrix, bearing dreadful evidence of some disease that had entirely consumed the skin. My curiosity was excited to know the cause of it. I subsequently ascertained that she had eloped from her husband, who had branded her arm with a fire-stick, and afterwards beat the burnt part, which had produced the forbidding appearance just described.

‘ Withered and wild in her attire,
She look’d not like a habitant of earth,
And yet was on it.’

Lieutenant King inquired of Holstead if Mr. Farewell and the whole of his party were living, and where the former resided. We found that he had gone, accompanied by Cune, an attendant, on a visit to Chaka, chief of the country ; and that Mr. Flynn and another had proceeded to the district of the Amumponds—a tribe dwelling about two hundred miles to the westward—for the purpose of trading for ivory.

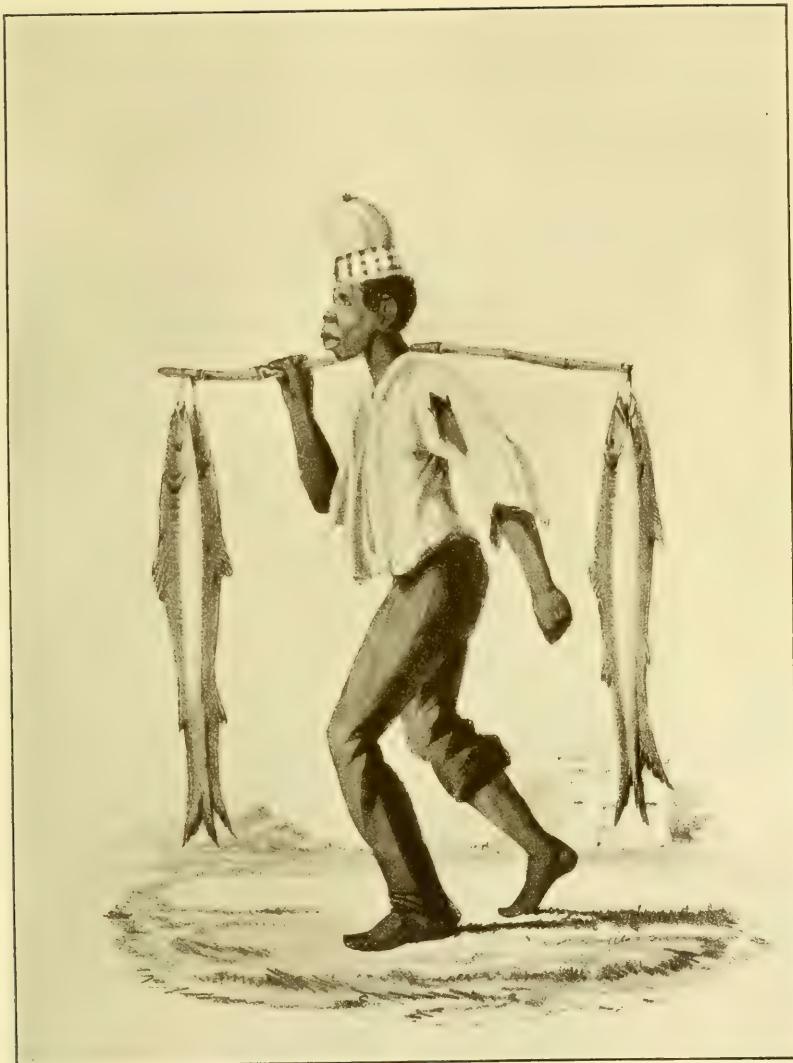
II

THE FOUNDING OF DURBAN

THE situation selected by Mr. Farewell for this purpose did not exceed twenty feet above the level of the sea ; it was a plain of triangular form. Some parts contiguous to it were marshy, but it was upon the whole pleasantly diversified, being intersected with trees, and covered with a sort of dwarf shrub, peculiar, I fancy, to this part of the world. In the rear the land, gradually rising to an ordinary altitude, is thickly covered with trees and underwood. On one side it is bounded by the river Umgani, and on the other by the bay and the ocean, the whole skirted by magnificent trees, the timber of which would be, doubtless, invaluable could it be applied for purposes of building either houses or vessels. The plain is about four miles long by two and a half broad, and resembles an English park. There is an ample supply of excellent water

not only from the river before-named, but from innumerable minor streams and springs which are here very abundant.

The house already described was merely a temporary dwelling, and not designed for any protracted residence, Mr. Farewell having commenced building a fortress which he purposes calling Fort Farewell. This is situated on the flat, nearer, by about a quarter of a mile, than his temporary habitation. It will cover a surface of about two hundred square yards, and is to be constructed in the form of a triangle. A ditch by which it will be encompassed was in progress, and palisadoes were being planted. To the house, which is to consist of one floor, and its dimensions to be about sixty feet by twenty, will be attached a store. A mud fort had been commenced, at each angle designed to mount three 12-pound caronades, which were lying there dismounted, with carpenter's tools, and other things, all indicating that something had been begun, but nothing completed. Near the ditch was a cattle-pound, partly finished, and at a distance of two hundred yards a native kraal in a similar state, enclosing an elevated space of ground of about as many yards in circumference. The outer fence of this kraal was constructed of the mimosa tree; the inner of wattle, being designed for the security of the cattle. The streets were built between the two fences; and opposite the entrance a place was partitioned off for calves, a measure of precaution against wild animals which abound in this vicinity. In front of the fort a square piece of ground had been fenced in, intended



THE SNOEK SELLER

From "Sketches of Various Types of the Cape of Good Hope" (London, 1851)

for a garden ; it had been turned up, but nothing had been planted, with the exception of some mustard and cress, and a few ears of Indian corn. The whole space looked rich in verdure, and lacked only the art and industry of civilised man to render it durable. With proper culture it is evident the soil might be rendered productive, but from a people in a state of absolute barbarism nothing is to be expected beyond what nature spontaneously bestows.

III

FYNN : EMPIRE MAKER

IN the afternoon Mr. Flynn arrived from the country of the Amampoatoes, a tribe inhabiting the banks of the St. John's River, a distance of about two hundred miles from Natal. This gentleman had been trading with the natives, and had collected a great quantity of ivory. For eight months he had separated himself from his solitary companion, Mr. Farewell, and had associated solely with the people with whom he sojourned. We sat attentively to hear him detail his adventures —the many vicissitudes he had endured, and the obstacles with which he had contended, not only in having been often without food, and ignorant where to seek it, but in daily terror of being destroyed by wild animals, or massacred by the savage natives. He had from necessity assumed the costume of the latter while with them, but resumed his own on his return to his habitation. It is almost impossible to convey a correct idea of the singular appearance of

this individual when he first presented himself. Mr. Fynn is in stature somewhat tall, with a prepossessing countenance. From necessity his face was disfigured with hair, not having had an opportunity of shaving himself for a considerable time. His head was partly covered with a crownless straw hat ; and a tattered blanket, fastened round his neck by means of stripes of hide, served to cover his body, while his hands performed the office of keeping it round his ‘nether man’ ; his shoes he had discarded for some months, whilst every other habiliment had imperceptibly worn away, so ‘that there was nothing of a piece about him.’ He was highly beloved by the natives, who looked up to him with more than ordinary veneration, for he had often been instrumental in saving their lives, and, in moments of pain and sickness, had administered to their relief. About a hundred had attached themselves to him, so much so, that they were inseparable. He apprehended no danger from such an intimacy, but rather thought it a security, and that it relieved him from the anxiety which at first harassed him.

IV

A VISIT TO CHAKA

HAVING collected from the *Mary* everything we could, and made arrangements for building a small vessel (which appeared an arduous undertaking, on account of our very limited means, the principal part of the carpenter’s tools being lost), I accompanied Messrs. Farewell, Fynn, and several seamen, with about forty

natives, on a journey to King Chaka, of the Zoola nation. On the eighth day, after having travelled about one hundred and thirty-five miles through a most picturesque country, and crossed several rivers, we arrived at the summit of a mountain, from which the view was particularly grand and imposing. We could distinguish the king's residence, and numerous other kraals, on an extensive plain, encompassed by a chain of hills. Shortly afterwards we came to a brook, where we refreshed, and put ourselves in proper apparel to meet the king. At about eight at night we arrived at the entrance of his kraal, and were soon admitted. Afterwards we were taken to his private residence, and gave the customary salute of the nation, which, not being answered, was repeated. A domestic now informed us that the king was holding an en-daba (a council) with his warriors; we then proceeded in order, and soon discovered his Majesty and his court surrounded by large fires. We stood for a few minutes, while the chief who accompanied us addressed the king relative to our mission; after this we were desired to advance, presented our presents, and seated ourselves on the ground, about six paces from him. During this interview his discourse was principally on war, owing to his enemies being at hand. However, he soon permitted us to retire to the huts which had been prepared for us. He shortly afterwards dismissed his people, and retired to his private kraal; we then received a message, requesting we would wait upon him there. Here our reception was very different from the former; he now cast off his stern look, became

good-humoured, and conversed with us through our interpreters on various subjects. A large basket of boiled beef and several earthen pots of milk were ordered to be placed before us, of which we ate heartily. After this entertainment we expressed a wish to retire on account of being much fatigued, to which he very readily assented. The following day we again waited upon him, and found him seated upon his mat, haranguing his people. We immediately withdrew, and having rambled about the greater part of this day, in the evening were highly entertained by his warriors singing war and other songs. At the king's request we fired a train of powder to show its effects ; and, after several other entertainments, he retired, expressing himself much pleased.

The following morning proved excessively hot, so much so that it was scarcely possible to stir about ; we therefore kept within our hut. The king, however, feeling no inconvenience from it, sent for our sailors, and proposed their going with him, and a number of his people, to hunt the elephant. These men, being aware of their inability, and having only leaden balls, prudently declined, saying they could not go without consulting us. The king desired the interpreter to tell them they were afraid ; this touched their pride of the insufficiency of our arms (of which we were equally aware) to destroy such animals. We immediately went in pursuit of them, and soon fell in with the king, surrounded by his warriors, seated under a large tree, and from which he had a complete view of the valley out of which they intended to start the

elephant ; we took our station about two hundred yards from him, under a smaller tree, waiting impatiently, yet dreading the result. Two hours had nearly elapsed when a messenger presented to the king the tail of an elephant, at which they all appeared greatly surprised ; he was desired to bring it to us, and say that the white people had killed the animal. As may be supposed we could scarcely credit the fact, but hastened towards the forest to join our people, and met them almost exhausted ; we, notwithstanding, had the satisfaction of congratulating each other upon what appeared to us almost a miracle. It appeared that the natives drove the elephant from the forest to a plain, where the sailors placed themselves directly before the animal ; the first shot entered under the ear, when it became furious ; the other lodged near the fore shoulder, after which it fell, and soon expired. Had this affair turned out differently, we should, in all probability, have been held in a contemptible light by this nation, and awkward consequences might have resulted to the settlement.

In the evening, at the request of the king, we joined in their amusements, and could not ourselves avoid singing : we commenced with "God save the King." On our explaining its literal meaning, Chaka was highly pleased ; in fact, there was nothing but good-humour to be observed in the countenances of every one present. The party broke up at a late hour ; and, as is usual, in the morning we paid the king an early visit. We now expressed a wish to see him in his war dress, he immediately retired, and in a short

time returned attired ; his dress consists of monkeys' skins, in three folds from his waist to the knee, from which two white cows' tails are suspended, as well as from each arm ; round his head is a neat band of fur stuffed, in front of which is placed a tall feather, and on each side a variegated plume. He advanced with his shield, an oval about four feet in length, and an umconto, or spear, when his warriors commenced a war song, and he began his manœuvres. Chaka is about thirty-eight years of age, upwards of six feet in height, and well proportioned ; he is allowed to be the best pedestrian in the country, and, in fact, during his wonderful exercises this day he exhibited the most astonishing activity ; on this occasion he displayed a part of the handsomest beads of our present.

Whilst sitting in our hut, at a late hour, we were aroused by the shrieks of thousands of human voices ; we naturally concluded it was the enemy advancing, being aware they expected them hourly ; the real cause, however, was soon ascertained—which was the death of the king's grandmother, supposed to be between ninety and a hundred years of age. The kraal in which she resided was about a mile distant. Men, women, and children, having cried bitterly for several hours, there ensued a profound silence ; after which thousands at the same moment commenced a most doleful song, which lasted a night and the greater part of the following day. It is said that this is the only instance ever known of the king having grieved. To give his Majesty an opportunity of seeing our respect for the deceased, we repaired to the kraal where

the corpse lay ; but in consequence of the excessive heat of the day, and it being surrounded by so many thousand people, with scarcely a breath of air blowing, we were obliged to retire to a more wholesome spot.

V

CUSTOMS OF THE COURT

THIS morning the king's servant came to call me to his master's presence. When I approached, the sovereign, addressing his warriors, said, ‘ Cannot you perceive a great difference between the people of King George and the Portuguese ? ’ ‘ Yes,’ said they, ‘ as much as between us and a bush Caffre.’ One of the chiefs very kindly telling Chaka that I had taken nothing and must be in want of food, he ordered a cow to be caught for myself and party.

Three boys came with water, carrying it over their heads with their arms extended, which I perceived was the usual way they bore everything to the king. One held a broad black dish before him, while another poured in water for his Majesty to wash, and a third stood ready with a further supply in case of need, holding it in the position before described, without daring to put it down.

Chaka, while bathing from head to foot, conversed with his people near him. After this was concluded, another attendant came, bearing a basket, which he presented to the king at arm's length. His Majesty took from it a sort of red coloured paste, with which he ornamented, or rather besmeared his body, but

kept rubbing until the whole had disappeared. After this another attendant came with some greasy substance, which the king likewise applied to his body, over which he rubbed it, and this gave him a fine glossy appearance.

At this period a body of natives arrived, about three hundred in number, every one saluting as he went on, '*Biet tu Barber*'; whilst some would say also '*Whenua cong Caswa*,' or 'You who are as large as the world.' On a sudden a profound silence ensued, when his Majesty uttered one or two words, at which some of the warriors immediately rose and seized three of the people, one of whom sat near me. The poor fellows made no resistance, but were calm and resigned, waiting their fate with apparently stoical indifference. The sanguinary chief was silent; but from some sign he gave the executioners they took the criminals, laying one hand on the crown and the other on the chin, and by a sudden wrench appeared to dislocate the head. The victims were then dragged away and beaten as they proceeded to the bush, about a mile from the kraal, where a stick was inhumanly forced up the fundament of each, and they were left as food for the wild beasts of the forest, and those carnivorous birds that hover near the habitations of the natives.

VI

AN EXECUTION

THE chiefs were engaged in talking with these two innocent women, who had been forced to follow their

rebel husband, and were now about to be executed. They excited all my sympathy—they occasioned an involuntary impulse in me to try to save them from death—to appeal for mercy, and snatch them from the grasp of the wretches who were tantalising them in a way that made my very soul stir within me, and wish that I had but power to do justice upon the unfeeling miscreants. But, alas ! no human appeal could save them—the die was cast, and the Zoola customs could not be dispensed with ; no mitigation, no mercy, no pardon could be granted ; the chiefs and warriors sought their execution, and Dingán gave the motion for them to be *sent home*. The unhappy creatures knew what was meant by the signal, and fell on their knees before the king, supplicating mercy ; but it was of no avail, the signal for death had been given, and could not be recalled. As these doomed and unoffending women walked away towards their home, as it was called in derision, the king ordered five or six of his own men to go with them. Immediately they had turned their backs, the king said to me, ‘They are the wives of Catoe, who killed Mr. Farewell—go and shoot them.’ I refused, bluntly telling him that were I to do such a thing I should be liable to be punished by my king the moment I appeared in his dominions at the Cape ; and that the governor would be sure to hear of it. He immediately replied, in a stern and resolute manner : ‘They killed one of your countrymen, and I insist on their lives being taken by the musket.’ I then, in a mild, entreating, and supplicatory address, appealed to him to consider that the two women had

no more to do with the revolt, and the subsequent conduct of their husband, in the affair of Mr. Farewell's death, than his own girls would have if he (Dingán) had done the deed ; that as Catoe was now dead, and the white people sought no longer to bring the offenders to punishment, I trusted he would not think of spilling more blood on that account. After this he became angry and sulky, at not having his orders obeyed, and said no more to me, but desired his servants to have the two women taken to a conspicuous elevation contiguous to the kraal. The chiefs then ordered my boy, Nasapongo, to take my musket, and go immediately and shoot the two women, that they might see the effect of the *issebum*, or musket. The boy took hold of my piece with a trembling hand ; I took it from him and said, ‘that muskets were not invented for shooting the innocent in the hour of peace ; they were only intended to use against enemies in time of war.’ The chiefs, these savage and merciless chiefs, seeing the king vexed, and likely to be enraged, excited his anger, and then, with a ferocious smile, as if exulting at their success, turned towards my boy, and told him, in a stern and threatening tone, to go and take the musket and shoot them. I saw that all my efforts, all my entreaties, were vain—that no alternative remained but to give up my piece, and permit my own boy to be the executioner of the unhappy victims of Zoola vengeance, or subject myself to a similar fate. I gave the boy my musket and pistols, and told Dingán, in a way that he could not mistake, to put the wretched and devoted women

to death without subjecting them to the torture of a second fire.

By this time they were seated on the spot designed for their execution, with about ten people to secure them from running away. My boy, Nasapongo, an unwilling instrument of the savages, went to the spot, when the eyes of all the sanguinary warriors, with Dingán in their centre, were fixed intently on the devoted objects of destruction. The boy approached them within ten yards and fired ; the ball fortunately passed through the breast of one of them, and the woman instantly became a corpse. I say fortunately, because I could not but think it better to suffer instant death, than that the poor creature, if only wounded, should afterwards be subject to torture and mutilation. This had an effect of even striking terror into the people who were sent to guard them ; they ran some distance, being in a panic, and knew not what they did ; while the other woman, innocent of the power of arms, put her mat before her, as if she thought that it might save her from the fate of her companion, and waited the effect of the next fire. Nasapongo, with a pistol, fired, and wounded her in the back. She started from her seat, running backwards, looking on her executioner with terror and anguish, while he loaded his musket. He fired at her again, and ended her miserable existence. The king and his savage warriors, from whose imprecations I am convinced this execution emanated, were astounded at the effect of fire-arms, for at each report they shook their fore-fingers, and simultaneously exclaimed *eezee !* an ejaculation

in battle signifying contempt. After this Dingán, although he had indulged in the sight of this barbarous act, evinced his joy by a flow of spirits which he did not usually manifest, and immediately sent me a vessel of beer containing at least five gallons, when I took the opportunity of going to my hut to ruminant on the horrid scene of which I had been an unwilling spectator; but I could neither find repose nor comfort. I enjoyed this consolation, however, that I had tried everything within my humble means to save the poor creatures who had been the victims of so much wanton barbarity.

ADULPHE DELEGORGUE

[Delegorgue makes a very good understudy to Le Vaillant, of whom he was an enthusiastic admirer. He was destined for the French Bar; but ran away to sea, and after five years of knocking round the globe set out on an exploring expedition in South Africa. After visiting Cape Colony he made his way into Natal, and was there between 1838 and 1842, when the Boers were fighting the Zulus and contending with the British for the mastery of the country. Delegorgue, as a detached and intelligent witness with very little love for either Boer or Briton, is an extremely valuable authority on this period, and his style has the clearness and sprightliness of the admirable nation to which he belonged (*Voyage dans L'Afrique Australe*, etc. Paris, 1847).]

DOMESTIC LIFE AMONG THE ZULUS

WHENEVER I have endeavoured in my mind to compare Kafirs and Europeans, and tried to fix some parallel between them, I have always been surprised to find that among these uncivilised people there is a kind of mean line, above which, it is true, they do not rise, but below which they do not sink.

Physically these people, well made in person, have a physiognomy in conformity with it. Their features never show the elegance, the purity, the refinement of the most beautiful European countenances; but never will one find among them the faces of repulsive ugliest.

ness that one discerns in our towns, in which misery and bad habits prevail.

In respect to mental faculties, the same thing is noticeable. They have no sentiment in excess, if we except that which is developed by war ; and even then the passion is collective, excited above all by martial songs, which are raised at the will of the chief. Even love, that private passion, the motive amongst us of so many noble actions as well as of so many odious crimes, among these people has no result for good or evil. Love, too, among them is a gentle passion, such as filial love. With them it is a physical condition imposed by nature ; a condition which at maturity they fulfil, without permitting to their thoughts the foolish exaggeration of which among us it has become the object. Never, so far as I know, has death been a consequence of love among the Zulus. There has not been an instance known of a man having become mad by reason of despairing love, still less that of a suicide has occurred from such a cause ; for they have the advantage of being ignorant of that sad resource—or, rather, they are more philosophic, and understand better how to reconcile themselves to the thought of the future.

Let no one expect to witness among the Zulus acts that bespeak immense devotion mingled with heroic virtue. A Kafir understands how to die admirably in battle ; a prisoner, and condemned to the fatal stroke, he has no terror of death ; but a Kafir will never devote himself to death to save his captain. Warlike courage is eminently possessed by the Kafir, but he

appears to know nothing of courage as the result of reflection and virtue.

Their affection, as shown in their lives amongst their relatives, their friends, and even in intercourse with strangers, has a reserve, even the most natural affection, even that which takes its direction from family ties. They love their parents, their wives, their children ; but the feeling never degenerates into weakness. They love reasonably, and more lastingly than we do ; they love with less of ostentation, because they are satisfied with the natural limits within which the feeling is contained ; and as they never raise it to a higher elevation, so neither do they break out into violent quarrels which, alas ! are so common in civilised nations. A Kafir may have from one to fifty wives ; he often has ten. His home breathes peace. There is no instance of a husband, or a head of a household, striking one of his wives. A mother does not know that white women allow themselves to slap their children ; nor do they understand the possibility of a woman in health giving up her suckling to be nursed by another. They attach importance to devoting themselves to the end to maternal duties, the severe tasks of which they take a pleasure in increasing and prolonging ; their children are neither wayward nor tearful, they grow rapidly, and soon become firm and valiant.

When the Zulus have vowed hatred against any one, they wish him evil ; it cannot naturally be otherwise ; but they do not kill him ; and this, not exactly because they are themselves indifferent to such a fate,

but because they do not carry resentment so far. There are exceptions, I know, but they are rare. The assassination, which is not committed by the king's express order, is an act that would scarcely be heard of once in five years.

Love of property is not a passion as amongst us. In the first place, having regard to the extent of the country and the scantiness of the population, land is common property ; every one cultivates that which is suitable, without any temptation to encroachment. Immovable property is, therefore, almost unknown among Kafirs. But the things strictly regarded by them as property are first their wives, then their cattle, and, in the third place, their crops. They show themselves very jealous as to the first, however numerous they may be ; they are very much attached to the second, and deal with their cattle very economically ; as to the third, they share their crops with any stranger, even a white man, who may require their assistance, so long as they are in a position—something more than what is absolutely needful. Hence they are hospitable ; they like others to visit them, even without a prospect of claiming any reciprocal exchange of visits. Hospitality is a sacred usage among them, as old as themselves. In their view, it is a duty that men mutually owe each other. They make no merit of it, because it is a good and useful practice, purely natural, and quite general. Civilisation, laying it down as a basis that everything troublesome deserves to be compensated, has destroyed hospitality, the virtue of the patriarchs. In this respect we differ essentially, and to our dis-

advantage. Egotism destroys the civilised man, and, at the risk of wounding our self-love, we must confess that civilisation takes from the human being qualities, virtues, and practices which, simple as they may be, are neither less beautiful nor less to be commended, for they touch directly the happiness of the human race.

Whilst occupying themselves with material interests, private or general, these people show clearness of perception and of perfect common sense, nor do they fail to attend to their moral interests, in which they desire no change. Thus they are constantly on their guard against the influence of European ideas, which would destroy their force ; and they will not tolerate teachers or missionaries, nor even the simple intercourse with white men ; they know that such intercourse is a source of misunderstanding and collision ; they endeavour to avoid it. This resolution on their part is a measure of prudence ; philosophers, or those supposed to be philosophers, impute this as a crime to them. Whether the Kafirs allow themselves to be misled, or yield to force, let war follow, let it be maintained with so much more of obstinacy, because it is waged by white against black, on what reason can one rely that will suffice to prove their wrongs ?

Caring little for things that are somewhat indefinite, or vague, or doubtful, their mind is averse to the lessons that are proposed to them ; their understanding does not consent to be impregnated with new ideas ; they show great scepticism as to what they are told ; they constantly call for proofs, and, being unable

to adduce them, we are looked upon by them as false. ‘The white man is deceiving us unworthily,’ they say laughingly, as if they had been made the butt of some pleasantry. The high opinion they have of themselves, the kind of contempt they express for Europeans, stand in the way of their accepting any part of our ideas or systems. In their view it is the misery and sterility of their country that have obliged the whites to seek to settle in Kaffraria. Now, according to their reasoning, a poor and miserable country can only produce and maintain poor and miserable men ; and as poverty and misery can only beget wickedness, it cannot fail to follow that the whites are wicked. In fact, on account of prejudices, the Kafirs do not love them. They regard them as their natural enemies, and fear, they say, that the whites will contaminate their minds. The Kafirs make no secret of this opinion, and more than this, circumstances leading to it I gathered from their many confessions of this kind.

Generally the Zulus, whom I have here taken as typical, have an open countenance. The pleasant smile on their lips has its effect, and gives to their eyes —beautiful black, deep-set, half-closed, and fringed by long curved eyelashes—a softness that wholly modifies the severity of their forehead and warlike demeanour. They wish to inform themselves without saying much, and this serves to show curiosity moderate, discreet, and disinclined to concessions. Far from besetting the traveller with questions, a course which would oblige them in their turn to satisfy him by details that concern themselves, they are on the contrary men of a

disheartening reserve. Their answers are well weighed ; on any serious subject they are prepared with a great deal of skill, and put the questioner off the track which he intended to follow. But if the conversation be on ordinary matters, their replies are full of fitness and wit ; often they raise a smile by their originality, to such an extent that I was often disposed to look on the Zulus as resembling the French in the cast of their minds. Thus, they are gay at all times, the love of war occupies them very much ; and, by understanding their interests, they have willed to submit themselves to very severe discipline in order to attain to greater power than their neighbours. In addition to this they despise trade, and, moreover, as compared with other Kafir tribes, they have an exquisite politeness that may well put the Dutch Boers to blush. Their language, harmonious and noble, and which they have the power to utter on occasion with incredible rapidity, not only leaves far behind the dialects of other Kafirs, but, even by their own admission, the jargon of the Dutch ; and if no Englishman has ever confessed a similar inferiority in his natural idiom, which is so full of consonants, of words devoid of harmony, and syllables more or less harsh, it is because I have never met an Englishman who was not English.

DANIEL PIETER BEZUIDENHOUT

[D. P. Bezuidenhout was born on 19th November 1813, in the district of Graaff Reinet, Cape Colony, his father being a cousin of the notorious Bezuidenhout of Slagter's Nek. He was one of the Voortrekkers under Gerrit Maritz and Hendrik Potgieter, and he took his share in some desperate fighting with the Zulus. His story appeared in the Orange Free State *Monthly Magazine* for December 1879, and an English translation is given by Bird (*Annals of Natal*, vol. i. p. 367).]

A FIGHT WITH THE ZULUS

THE third attack was on my father's bivouac, consisting of five wagons and three skin tents; and there were three men with it—namely my father, Roelof Botha (my brother-in-law), and myself.

It was about one o'clock in the night, and there was no moonlight. We stood on a rough hillock, near thorn trees. We had three or four bold savage dogs, that would tear a tiger to pieces without difficulty. I heard the dogs bark and fight, and thought that there was a tiger. I got up, having no clothes on my person except a shirt and drawers, and went to urge on the dogs; and, when I was about three hundred yards away from the wagons, I heard the whirr of assegais and shields, and perceived we had to do with Kafirs, not tigers, and with the Kafirs the dogs were fighting.

I shouted to my father : ‘There are Kafirs here, and they are stabbing the dogs,’ and I ran back towards the wagon to get my gun, for I was unarmed. But the wagons were already encircled by three rows of Kafirs. Still I strove to push with my hands, and struggle, in order to pass through the Kafirs to get at my gun. When I had in this way got through the three lines of Kafirs, I found that there was still a number within the lines closely surrounding the wagons. As I was still advancing, I heard my father say, ‘O God !’ and I knew from the sound that he was suffocated by blood. He had a wound in the gullet, above the breast. Roelof Botha had fired three shots, and there lay three Kafirs, struck down by his shots ; then he, too, cried, ‘O Lord !’ I heard no more, and then I tried to make my way back, away from the wagons, through the three rows of Kafirs. Then I received the first wound from an assegai on the knot of the shoulder, through the breast and along the ribs. A second assegai struck the bone of my thigh, so that the point of the blade was bent, as I found afterwards when I drew it out. The third struck me above the left knee—all the wounds were on my left side. A fourth wound was inflicted above the ankle, through the sinews, under the calf of the leg. Then I found myself among the cattle, and stood a moment, listening. I heard no further sound of a voice—all were dead ; and the Kafirs were busy tearing the tents and breaking the wagons, and stabbing to death the dogs and the poultry. They left nothing alive. Of the women and children murdered at my father’s wagons, there

were : my mother, Elizabetta Johanna, born Liebenberg ; my wife, Elizabetta Cecilia Smit ; my mother-in-law, Anna Smit, born Botha ; my sister, Susanna Margarita, married to Botha, her little child, Elizabetta Johanna, about five months old ; another sister, Maria Adriana Bezuidenhout ; also my sisters, Rachel Jacoba and Cornelia Sophia, a little brother, named Hendrik Cornelis, my little daughter, Anna Bezuidenhout (she was eleven months old), who was murdered with her mother. My wife lay in bed with a little one, three days old, also murdered with her mother ; and on the following day we found my wife with her breast cut off, and the corpse of my child laid at the blood-stained breast. There was also a brother of mine, Petrus Johannes, fourteen years old. He slept in my father's tent, and when I shouted, 'Here are Kafirs,' he understood me to say that the sheep were running off. He jumped out, and received only an assegai-wound along the skin of the back, and then ran among the thorn trees. The next day, late, he arrived at Doornhop. He knew where the horses were running, had knotted his braces together, had caught and mounted the horse that was most gentle, and drove seven other horses before him, and thus had escaped.

CHARL CELLIERS

[The Voortrekker, Charl Celliers, is described by Bird as an 'elder of the Dutch Reformed Community of Kroonstadt, Orange Free State.' His account of the fighting with the Zulus is, to my thinking, very fine in its graphic simplicity. For the whole account see Bird's *Annals of Natal*, vol. i. p. 238.]

THE BATTLE OF THE BLOOD RIVER

ANOTHER commando was then sent against Dingaan ; but alas ! on this occasion, Pieter Uys, a gallant commander, fell with ten men. Again a bitter woe had to be endured. Commandant Potgieter, with more than half of our people, left the country—retiring over the mountains. We were thus greatly weakened. At that time we were in two encampments—the one at Bushman's River, the other at the Tugela, and Dingaan again sent a force to attack the camp at Bushman's River ; but on this occasion none of our men were killed, whilst very many of the enemy were shot down. The greater number of the emigrants were then inclined to quit the country. I made a proposal that three of us should go and make an effort to procure assistance ; if we failed, then on our return the territory should be forsaken. Three were deputed to go—myself, Frans Hatting, and Willem Pretorius. We obtained assistance from Andries Pretorius. He came with many

followers, as did also Pieter Jacobs. We were thus enabled to muster a force of four hundred men. With these we went forth, under the great disadvantage of so small a number against the powerful nation under Dingaan. We saw this, and that if the good God was not with us, there was little hope of victory. I saw, to the extent of the light granted to me, that we must become suppliants to the Lord to entreat that He be with us at our standard, as He was with Moses and Joshua. I made the people sensible that if the Lord were not with us we must be overwhelmed. Mr. Andries Pretorius was our chosen general in that expedition. He and I spoke to each other on the subject of the promises made holy by the Bible, and how we too were bound to make a promise to the Lord, that if He gave us the victory over our enemy, we should consecrate that day, and keep it holy as a Sabbath each year. But I recalled the words of David : ‘ Make promise, but pay the promised thing, saith the Lord ’—for it was better that we should not promise, than that we should promise and not fulfil. It was the desire of Pretorius that we should make the promise collectively. There were still a number of our people and a commandant who had not yet joined us. I said that we must delay till Jacobus Uys should be present. He joined us at the Tugela. We spoke to him on the subject of the vow, and it was his desire also that it should be made. The field cornets concurred in this. We then came to the determination that we should make a solemn promise to the Lord our God, that if He were with us, and gave the enemy into our hands,

we should consecrate to the Lord the day in each year, and keep it holy as a Sabbath Day. We moved on to 'Dancekraal.' We determined that at that place the pledge should be given, and it was the general feeling that I should give it in the name of all. The general issued an order that no man should be absent on the occasion. It was on 7th December. I complied to the best of my weak capacity with the wish of all the officers, and I knew that the majority of the burghers concurred in the wish. I took my place on a gun-carriage. The four hundred and seven men of the force were assembled round me. I made the promise in a simple manner, as solemnly as the Lord enabled me to do. As nearly as I can remember, my words were these : 'My brethren and fellow-countrymen, at this moment we stand before the holy God of heaven and earth, to make a promise, if He will be with us and protect us, and deliver the enemy into our hands so that we may triumph over him, that we shall observe the day and the date as an anniversary in each year, and a day of thanksgiving like the Sabbath, in His honour ; and that we shall enjoin our children that they must take part with us in this, for a remembrance even for our posterity ; and if any one sees a difficulty in this, let him retire from the place. For the honour of His name will be joyfully exalted, and to Him the fame and the honour of victory must be given.' I said, further, that we must join in prayer to be raised up to the throne of His grace ; and so forth. And I raised my hands towards the heavens in the name of us all. Moreover, we confirmed this in our prayers

each evening, as well as on the next Sabbath. Every evening, at three places, there was an evening service. The Lord was with us. On the 15th we formed our encampment at Blood River—so named after the battle. A patrol had been sent out, and we received a report that Dingaan's army had been discovered. We advanced at once with our commando. The Zulu army was on a mountain, and at one extremity allowed itself to be seen. In that direction there was a pathway leading up ; but as one approaches, it is seen that the mountain is encircled by crags, and there were two rugged ravines near the pathway. There was an armed force in each ravine. If we had gone up the mountain, we should have been hemmed in by the force in the ravines. I wished to commence an engagement at once, but our general said it was too late in the day, and we must delay our advance till the next morning. I proposed to go with fifty men to decoy them from the mountain on to level ground, and that the rest should come to meet me ; but my suggestion was not approved of. I was inclined to be dissatisfied, but I found afterwards that it was well that we had not then gone into action. For the Lord said : ‘ My counsel shall prevail, I shall please My will.’ We returned in the evening to our encampment. I cannot omit to bring to the notice of all how the Lord in His holy providence had appointed a place for us, in which He had determined that the fight should occur. On the west there is a ravine which discharged itself into Blood River, and the bank close to the edge of the camp was fourteen feet high, and could not be scaled.

Then there was the Blood River, which had a ‘sea-cow-hole’ at least one thousand four hundred yards long, on the eastern side. I am under the impression that the sea-cow-hole was at right angles to the water-course. So that the camp, by God’s mercy, was protected on two sides. On other sides the encampment was on open ground. I think, then, that had God not forbidden it, it might have been taken by the Kafirs, for their power was great, and the Kafirs are brave. They had, however, open ground on two sides, on which they could make a rush and storm the camp. It pleased God that we ‘should see the sights of our guns.’ On the 16th¹ they came down to the camp with great courage, and, if I am not mistaken, endeavoured four times to take it by storm. Each time they were driven back. We could both hear and see their commander, who wished to repeat the attack, but the men refused to do so. When the attack was wholly discontinued, there were a considerable number at the edge of the ‘sea-cow-hole,’ who, being unable to cross the water, lay down under their shields ; and we, clearing the edge of the encampment near the water, and reaching the spot by a direct course, fired on and killed them. And when the other Kafirs saw that they would all be killed, they fled, but with great loss. There were still some of them at the ravine ; I called for volunteers to clear the ravine ; and we went with eighty men. The ravine was broad, and the Kafirs were huddled together, so that they could not use their arms to hurl

¹ Dingaan’s Day (16th December 1838) is still observed by the South African Dutch.

their assegais. One, however, did so, and wounded a man in the thigh. We fired on them. There was no steep bank on the other side of the ravine, and they were easily able to make their way out of it. And whilst we were preparing to attack the Kafirs near the bank, a great number of our men had come to that side of the encampment, and, as the Kafirs went off at the other side, a severe fire was opened on them. More than four hundred fell (the dead were counted) in the attack on the ravine. The general then ordered the gates to be opened. Every horse had already been saddled by his direction. We sallied from the camp. Then the word of our Lord was fulfilled : ‘ By one way shall your enemies come, but by the blessing of the Lord they shall fly before your face.’ There was a dense mass of Kafirs, I think the half of their whole number, who had not fought. The general directed that they should be fired on by the artillery. When this was done, they came forward, as if to reinforce the assailants and renew the attack on the camp. About one hundred and fifty of our men rode towards this force in two divisions, and then a number, estimated by me at two thousand, separated themselves from the rest. Against this section of the enemy I was engaged. We were in an open country. They now offered no further resistance. We were on their right and left, and they were huddled together. We were animated by great courage, and when we had got in front of them, the Kafirs lay on the ground like pumpkins on a rich soil that had borne a large crop. When they saw that there would be no escape, as we

were driving them towards the ‘sea-cow-hole,’ they jumped into the water, and were among the rushes at the river’s edge. I believe that all were killed, that not one escaped. I was witness to the fact that the water looked like a pool of blood : whence came the name of Blood River. I have said what we did ; but what did others do ? It is calculated that not fewer than three thousand of the enemy perished on that day.

Will not every one who reads this be deeply affected, and convinced that our great God gives ear to prayer ? Shall we not redeem the promise made to God ? That evening we had a thanksgiving for the great help and deliverance granted to us. But now my mind was again greatly disturbed, for their self-laudation amongst many, and such boasting as caused me great fear. I upbraided them with this, and said that I feared more now than when we committed our concerns to the Lord, under the promise made in our prayer. The Lord had said to us : ‘ Call on Me in the time of anxiety, and I shall help you.’ Let us not say that our hands and our courage have secured the victory.

SIR WILLIAM CORNWALLIS HARRIS

[Harris was like many Anglo-Indians, 'afflicted with shooting madness,' and was in fact a great *shikari*. He was the son of a Kentish gentleman, and when he set out on his South African expedition held the rank of captain in the Bombay Engineers. He was invalided to the Cape for two years in 1836, and falling in with another great hunter, Richard Williamson of the Bombay Civil Establishment, the two set out by ox-wagon from Algoa Bay. They went by way of Somerset to the Orange River, and visited the Matabele chief Moselikatse, obtaining glorious shooting in country long since cleared of its big game. Harris returned to India in 1837, and in 1841 went on a mission to the ancient Christian kingdom of Shoa in Abyssinia. He published several works on his travels; the following extract is taken from his *Portraits of the Game Animals of Southern Africa* (London, 1840), a folio of the author's animal pictures admirably done and reproduced in lithograph by Howard.]

A PARADISE OF GAME

LACK of water, the curse and the prevailing feature of these savage regions, frequently compels the *feræ naturæ* to assemble in countless companies around the last dregs of expiring moisture, without reference either to caste or hereditary animosities; and on such occasions the picture they present to the eye of the sportsman is one of no common enchantment. Delighting in shade, the brindled gnoo especially resorts to level tracts, thinly sprinkled with the picturesque and feathery mimosa, reclining beneath spreading clumps

of which, or scattered over the boundless landscape like ‘cattle grazing upon a thousand hills,’ they impart to the sylvan scene a truly pastoral effect. At a single *coup d’œil* may be seen mixed multitudes of these inseparable friends, the kokoon and Burchell’s zebra—the Damon and Pythias of the brute creation—interspersed with gaily painted groups of the hartebeest and sassaybe, both seeming to have just escaped from the hands of the sign dauber. Some are quietly cropping the short grass, and others are huddled together beneath the shadow cast by some tall umbrella-shaped mokaala, the tree that forms the favourite food of the stately giraffe. From the spreading boughs of this magnificent species of acacia, the only approach to *a tree* which may be seen in these regions, dangle clusters of evergreen mistletoe, sparkling with scarlet berries. And under the deep shadow cast on the sunny landscape by yonder clump, the twisted branches of which literally groan under the weight of the huge haystack-looking nests of the industrious little republican bird, stand the sombre and massive figures of a pair of unwieldy elands, indolently defending their sleek, pursy sides from the buzzing persecutions of a host of yellow-bodied cattle-flies, or leisurely chewing the cud in the midst of a knot of recumbent gnoos, whose high humps peer above their elliptical horns. Mixed squads of kokoons and zebras are practising their wild gambols over the level plain, kicking, frolicking, butting, and pursuing each other with untiring perseverance. Here a pair of exasperated combatants are engaged in a deadly joust, in the presence of a

group of dames, who, as of old, will bestow their favours on the most valiant. Battering their hard fronts against each other, tossing their curled manes aloft, and lashing their swarthy sides with their streaming tails, their fierce little round eyes glisten the while, like sparks of fire beneath their shaggy forelocks. Umpire-like, on one side of the scene of this gentle passage of arms, behold a few solitary bulls at gaze, posted apparently as sentinels, and standing at attention full to the front, their dark eyes glancing wildly from the duellists to the enemy, and a deep hollow moan occasionally escaping from their innermost recesses. The human foe still approaches, and is observed with weapons of offence! Up go their taper heels with a sideling flourish, the signal for the cessation of intestine hostilities, and for an indiscriminate retreat. With their high Roman noses almost raking the earth, *sauve qui peut*, away they scour in headlong haste, turning up the sand by bushels-full. Now the sleek variegated coats of a well-drilled troop of Burchell's zebras glisten in the rays of the sun as they charge furiously past in close squadron—at one moment obscured under the gloom of an avenue of spreading mokaala trees—at the next emerging in unbroken files, followed by a smoke-like pillar of dust, which traces their serpentine course long after they have disappeared over the brow of yon gentle eminence. Crack goes the rifle, and the leading gnoo of the next sable section, arrested in full career, cuts three or four perfect summersets, measures his shaggy length upon the ground, and is trampled underfoot by his thronging companions. Troop upon

troop now pour in from every quarter, and continue to join each other, until the whole plain seems literally alive; and thousands still bearing down from every point of the compass, a vast extent of country, which presently becomes chequered white and black with their congregated masses, at length presents the appearance of a moving mass of game. The clatter of their hoofs becomes perfectly astounding, and can be compared to nothing but the din of a tremendous charge of cavalry, or the rushing of a mighty tempest. Their incredible numbers so impede their onward progress, that the horseman experiences no difficulty in closing with the motley band. As the panic caused by the repeated reports of his rifle increases, the rear ranks pressing tumultuously upon the heels of the leaders of the retreating phalanx, cause indescribable confusion. Dense clouds of dust hover over them, and the long necks of troops of ostriches are to be seen towering above the heads of their less gigantic neighbours, and sailing past with astonishing rapidity. Groups of purple sassaybes, and brilliant red and yellow hartebeests, charging down from every direction, likewise lend their aid—whilst a host of hungry vultures, which, wheeling in airy circlets like small specks in the firmament, have been gradually descending, and now stoop with the velocity of lightning as each succeeding flash of the deadly tube gives token of prey, serve to complete a picture which must be seen to be understood, and which beggars all attempt at description.

‘ Rolling and blackening, swarms succeeding swarms,
With deeper murmurs and more hoarse alarms,

Dusky they spread, in close embodied crowds,
And o'er the vales descend in living clouds.'

It was on the banks of the Meritsane, south of the twenty-sixth parallel of latitude, that we first witnessed one of these grand and imposing spectacles. Countless herds, which had congregated from every quarter to drink of the stagnant waters of that river, literally covered the wide extended landscape for many miles, nor could the numbers assembled have fallen short of fifteen to twenty thousand.

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